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Britannia

EX BIBLIOTHECA

CAR. I. TABORIS.

Herbert (Algernon).

BRITANNIA

AFTER THE ROMANS,

ETC.

60700

Britannia

After the Romans;

BEING

AN ATTEMPT TO ILLUSTRATE

THE

RELIGIOUS AND POLITICAL REVOLUTIONS

OF THAT PROVINCE

IN THE

FIFTH AND SUCCEEDING CENTURIES.

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This volume exhibits the beginning of an attempt to illustrate, in a manner somewhat different from what has hitherto been done, one of the most obscure and unknown portions of human history. At the same time it should be premised that this is not a history, but merely an essay upon history, which presupposes in such few readers as it is likely to have some previous familiarity with the narratives, such as they are, of which the world is in possession. It was undertaken under the impression, that the subject has bearings by no means unimportant.

The materials out of which the truth is to be elicited are singularly meagre in their amount and unsatisfactory in their character. An author pursuing this path has the vexation of seeing at every step, that his doubts and imperfect information do not arise merely from the

distance of time and the wreck of empires and their monuments, and of perceiving in many quarters an intention to deceive accompanying the profession to instruct. The following beautiful verses seem perfectly adapted to describe the nature of his task,

> Quale per incertam lunam, sub luce malignâ,
> Est iter in sylvis; ubi cœlum Jupiter umbrâ
> Condidit et rebus nox abstulit atra colorem.

To restore to those things their true colour requires, so far as it can be done at all, not only penetration and acumen, but the strength of a moderating judgment to keep those faculties within their due bounds. And those who have been thus gifted have found the subject too distasteful to invite much of their attention, and so have left it to the first occupant.

There is, to unskilful hands at least, no small additional difficulty, in arranging and marshalling the topics in question to the best advantage. Whether to give the precedence to this more historical part, or to the more doctrinal exposition of that Neo-Druidic heresy or apostasy, which governed the course of events, and cannot be separated from the consideration of them, was a perplexing

question. And the order here used was only adopted, as seeming the least awkward and difficult of the two.

The whole execution of this attempt is too little satisfactory even to the partial judgment of its author, to afford any sanguine hope of its giving satisfaction to readers. Yet it must entirely depend upon the encouragement given to this portion of it, whether it shall be carried further, or not.

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INTRODUCTION.

CHAP. I.

THE WELSH BARDS.—ARTHURIAN ROMANCE.—THE TRIADS.—GILDAS, NENNIUS, AND MARCUS.—TYSILIO AND GEOFFREY AP ARTHUR.—MABINOGION, ETC.—MODERN ETYMOLOGISTS.—MODERN CELTIC LITERATURE.

I. The state of religion, manners, and opinions in general, among the Britons of the 5th and 6th centuries, are best to be conjectured from the poetical remains of those men whom they called Bards. I do not propose to add much to what Mr. Sharon Turner, and Mr. E. Davies, followed up by Mr. Probert in his Preface to Aneurin, have written in demonstration of their authenticity, or at least of the more important portion of them.

Yet I wish to remove one objection which, though it has not been raised, may one day rise up to their prejudice.

The Avallenau of Merddin contains the Ambrosian prophecy concerning Cadwallader and Conan. "Sweet[a] Apple-tree with yet sweeter fruits, growing in secret in the woodlands of Celyddon! all shall seek it with unavailing faith for the sake of its produce. But when Cadwallader comes to the conference at the ford of Rheon with Conan, in opposition to the movements of the Saxons, the Cymmry

[a] Arch. Myvyr. 1. 153. See E. Jones's Relicks, p. 10. Davies' Myth. p. 489.

become supreme, and brilliant is their leader." The like occurs in the Armes Brydain bearing Taliesin's name,

[a] Conan in Gwynedd
Is the omen before the slaughter,
And Cadwallader is
A joy unto Cymmry.

Another poem of the same Bard describes the Ambrosian prophecies in general, as being "*of* (i. e. not *by* but *concerning*) Cadwallader and Conan."

[b] It is intimated in the prophecy,
In the long cry abundantly poured forth,
In the long public Chief-Song
Of Cadwallader and Conan,
Let the heat of the sun consume
The benefactor Microcosm.

In Elphin's consolation he says,

When he flies from the judgment
What is the bard or his song,
When Conan is called
To the chair of citation
Before the presence of Cadwallader,
And he flies from decease in the earth
To Conan son of Bran?

Conan and Cadwallader occur in the Armes of Golyddan (*v.* 163) and are a Bardic common-place.

I have always understood this part of the predictions of old Merddin Ambrose to express that, at some future time, the several fragments of the British empire should be reunited in a successful league against the Saxons. When Arthur returns as a grey-headed old man on a white-horse, "then[c] Cadwallader shall call on Conan and take Albany into alliance." North Britain or Albany, Little

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[a] Arch. p. 49. [b] Gwawd Lludd. p. 74.
[c] Proph. Merl. ab Alan. de Ins. p. 101.

Britain, signified by the name of its founder Conan of Meriadawg, and Wales, signified by Cadwallader, the last of its princes who titularly reigned over all Britannia, shall be confederated together, and the others shall obey the citation to do homage before the throne of Cadwallader. Geoffrey had been taught to understand it thus, and so explained it; "the Britons shall lose their kingdom for many ages, till Conan[a] shall alight from his Armorican chariot, and Cadwallader, venerable chief of the Cambrians, which two shall unite the Scots, Cambrians, Cornubians, and Armoricans in a firm league, and restore to their own people the lost crown, expel the enemy, and renew the times of Brutus." Upon that notion, we should conclude these poems to be of a date subsequent to the dereliction of his crown by Saint Cadwallader, which happened in[b] A.D. 664 or 688.

The difficulty may be cleared up in this manner. Cad-Gwaladyr (i. e. the *Disposer of Battles*) was a name actually occurring in the Ambrosian Prophecies, in their original shape, and as it now stands in them. Cadwallon ap Cadvan imposed that name upon his child, either thinking the time was ripe for the fulfilment of those predictions, or that the name itself, by its inspiriting influence, might in some measure verify them. Upon that principle, a Prince of Armorica was baptized *Arthur*, and more lately the second son of the Czar Paul, *Constantine*. The circumstance, that King[c] Cadwallader, together with Alan Prince of Britanny, searched the Ambrosian prophecies, in order to learn whether they might endeavour the reconquest of Britain, and decided in the negative, confirms my view of the subject. And the historian who relates it as a simple fact, makes no allusion to Cadwallader's name being actually mentioned in the volume which was searched. By this hypothesis another point may be elucidated. The very name of the British Monarchy was abolished by Cadwallader's resignation, and from thenceforth the Princes of its various fragments were contented with mere local appellatives. No

[a] Gaufrid. Merlin *v.* 966. p. 23.

[b] The first date is in the Chronology of the Red Book of Hergest, and the second in Tysilio.

[c] Brut Tysilio, by Roberts, p. 189.

history suggests, that the regal honours of Britain were abandoned on the demand of the Saxons, or by a treaty with them. Why, then, should so proud a race have given up the only thing they could easily keep, their name of dignity and reservation of right? My answer is, that Cadwallader and his family were undeceived, and their minds turned towards God by the failure of the Ambrosian prophecies in his person; so [that they then ceased to be the *cyhoedd cynghan* and national oracles, though vulgar superstition long continued to cherish their delusive promises.

The poems in question widely differ in their style and subjects from those of the bards in the 12th and 13th centuries. They descant with boldness on topics to which the latter but occasionally drop an allusion; and some of them, such as the Gorchans of Maelderw and Cynvelyn, and the Marwnad Uthyr, breathe an open paganism without the dissembling cloak of Christianity. Several were written when the language of the Romans was yet vernacular, and contain many specimens of it, not taken from books, but exhibiting the uninflected Celtified Latin of the ruder Provincials. For instance, the verse

A welaist y Dominus fortis,

(didst thou see the mighty Lord?) belongs almost as much to the Britannia Secunda as to modern Wales; and in this line,

O waith rex rexedd,

(the work of the King of kings,) we have an uninflected Latin singular and a Celtic plural formed upon it, while other instances of barbarous hybrid language seem to baffle interpretation. These remarks include among other poems the Dyhuddiant Elphin, the Prif Gyvarch, y Byd Mawr, yr Gwynt, Angar Cyvyndawd, and Llath Moesen. The Meib Llyr, not older than Cadvan's accession, can scarcely be much later, since it speaks of the Romani as a distinct class of inhabitants in Britain. When the Prif Gyvarch was written, the Morini of Northumbrian Britain retained that appellation,[a]

Rhag Fichti llewon
Morini Brython.

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[a] Richard of Cirencester says that the Durotriges, or men of Dorset, were otherwise called Morini, c. 15. But the people here mentioned as resisting the Picts are

In the days of the Cynveirdd the Lloegrian Britons were still a nation, and the Germans were still intruders, designated as Saxons, Angles, and Franks. To say, that the bards of the middle ages, who frequently cite the Cynveirdd, also forged their works, and in so doing used all these precautions to give their fictions verisimilitude, would argue an obstinate will to disbelieve, and a sad misconception of the critical and intellectual resources of those minstrels.

An author in the Cambr. Qu.[a] Magazine has impugned the obscure Gododin upon two grounds. The first is, that Dyvynawl or Dyvnwal Vrych, mentioned there, is Donald Brec, a Scottish Prince who lived in the succeeding century to Aneurin. That is a mere conceit. The names Dyvynawl and Dyvnwal are of distinct etymology from the Gaelic Donull. The second is, that the words " er pan aeth daear ar Aneurin," *since the earth went on Aneurin*, allude to his death and sepulture. It proves too much; for the forger could not impute such an allusion to Aneurin, any more than Aneurin could use it. The earth came upon Aneurin when (as he says) he was a captive down " *in the earthy house*, with an iron chain around his knees," in which sad plight he composed his Gododin.

In point of doctrine, it is of inferior moment whether a given poem is from the very Cynvardd whose name it bears, or from a subsequent one. One doctrine was carefully preserved and handed down in succession, and what the one did say, the other would have said. Therefore authenticity, in its most rigorous sense, is not indispensably necessary to make them useful. Meib Llyr is not the less

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more probably the descendants of the Morini cohort, who were stationed above the wall in the neighbourhood of Morpeth.

Time shall be, when the stars
Shall clearly presage
The Morini Britons
Against the ravenous Picts,
And the harvest of the valiant
Round about Severn river.—Arch. 1. p. 33.

[a] Vol. 1. p. 352.

so, for having been indisputably composed a generation or two later than Taliesin, whom the author of it has thought fit to personate.

II. The Arthurian Romances divulge more than the Bardic odes, and are less obscure in their drift. Without them, we should be less fully aware what manner of people the authors of the former were. In the first instance, their matter was derived from Welsh or Armorican originals. Christian of Troyes[a] avows that he took his Lancelot and his Perceval from such documents, furnished to him by the Countess of Champagne and the Earl of Flanders. But he observes in his Erec Fils de Lac,[b] that the Minstrels were then in the habit of altering and corrupting the originals from which they borrowed. The Romance entitled, Prophecies de Merlin, has probably engrafted its variety of strange contents upon some original stock; in folio xlii Christians are termed "believers in *Fitz-Mary*," which appellation, so unusual in French discourse, is an exact version of the usual Welsh phrase *Mab Mair*.

The great work, and as I may say the Alcoran, of Arthurian Romance was the Book of the Saint Greal. In truth, it is no romance, but a blasphemous imposture, more extravagant and daring than any other on record, in which it is endeavoured to pass off the mysteries of Bardism for direct inspirations of the Holy Ghost. The author was dozing in a lonely place, when he was aroused by a beautiful man, who said, I bring you the true doctrine of the Trinity. He blew in the author's face, who presently felt many tongues in his mouth, and when he opened it to speak there came forth a flame of fire. Then the man said, "The fountain of all certainties is before you. . . . I am the fountain of wisdom. . . . I am the perfect Third One of *the Masters*, and I come to you, for I will that you should have knowledge of all these things." Then he gave him the book to read, saying, "I wrote it with my own hand, and it must be believed that it is made by the tongue of spiritual fire, and not by tongue of natural mouth. . . . It is the way of the soul." Afterwards *the Grand Master* appeared to him, and commanded him to write a copy of it on parchment. Some

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[a] Cit. de la Rue, Bardes Armoric, p. 18. [b] Cit. ibid. p. 36.

doubt[a] exists with respect to the translations of it. Perhaps it was translated into Latin by Walter de Mapes, our first great scholar in the Celtic tongues, and the French translation made from that in 1220. But the original work was composed in Welsh in the year 717. The volume begins, "Seven hundred and seventeen years after the passion [b]of Christ, I, a sinner, was in a lonely place, etc." Greal is a Welsh word, signifying [c]an aggregate of principles, a magazine; and the elementary world or world of spirits was called the *Country of the Greal.* From thence the word Greal, and in Latin Gradalis, came to signify a vessel in which various messes might be mixt up. The *Quest of the Saint Greal* is alluded to by David ap Gwillym, "I have travelled to find him as if for the Greal," and the book of it is mentioned and recognised by another poet, Guto'r Glyn, "for one book he is complaining which he loves more than gold and precious stones, the fair Greal *of this country*, a book of the famed knights, a book of the Mystery of all the Round Table." The 121st Triad of the 3rd series says that three knights guarded the Greal in the Court of Arthur. It is also said that the Greal is frequently mentioned in the Mabinogion.

And who was guilty of writing the Llyvyr y Greal? Wales had, in the days of Cynddelw, obscure, abrupt, and somewhat short lyric poems, some tales, and fables, and brief sentences called Triads, containing morsels of history or legislation. But she had no entire volumes of prose composition, that we know of, except Tysilio's History of the Kings, his History of the Church, and the Greal. Supposing, what is just possible, that the original Greal may have been a poem, it was a long heroic poem; and still it remains true, that

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[a] See Helinand. Frigidimont. cit. Vinc. Bellov. Spec. Hist. 23. c. 127. Usher Brit. Eccl. p. 9. Biogr. Univ. in *Mapes.*

[b] In Bardic divinity, the entire condescension of the Word to the condition of humanity, and not his crucifixion only, constitutes his passion, which latter consequently is said to commence at his conception in the womb. See Meilyr Brydyt, Marw. *v.* 19, 20. This was in harmony with the Platonizing, Origenian, and Neo-Druidic heresies, which make the birth of a man the death of a pre-existent being, his soul, and his death the resuscitation of that being.

[c] See Owen Dict. in *Greal*, and authors cit. ibid.

those three are the only works of magnitude and substantive volumes in Welsh that we know of. The Archaiology places the florescence of Tysilio from 660 to 720. Llyvyr y Greal was written in 717. Therefore the two book-writers (as distinguished from Bards and Triadists) of ancient Wales were Tysilio and an anonymous writer his contemporary; or else, Tysilio himself wrote the Greal. The latter is the fact. Tysilio is reproached for having written that which too plainly unfolded the hidden secrets of Bardic doctrine. Now, *First*, the Chronicle of Tysilio does not unfold it, but abstains from all such allusions with remarkable scrupulosity. *Secondly*, his Ecclesiastical History, now lost, is not likely to have done so; inasmuch as we know that Welsh Church history has come down to us under a disguise, and its real nature has not yet been disclosed, which shall abundantly be shewn when we treat of the Saints. *Thirdly*, the Greal does contain, in language somewhat obscure, but still far from discreet, and, in parts, very comprehensible to the competent reader, the chief mysteries of the Bards or (as Guto terms it) of the Round Table. And, *Lastly*, no other book in prose or verse, that I have heard of, does so. Cynddelw, who flourished five centuries later than the son of Brochvael and Saint Arddun, composed a poem on him, comparing that author to Satan in Eden.

Undeniable God of the city of heavenly peace,
God! thy sanctuary covers the blame of my iniquity.
God, wise in the perfection of thy kingliness!
Fair is the Queen of the servants of truth.
God and our leader! for our full portion of honour
There is *the fair* [a] *country*, there is grace, there is dominion,
In gladness, in peace, in tranquillity,
In enjoyment, in apparent ease,
And the recompense to reward equity,
And the retribution to requite iniquity.
Let me sing to my Lord by virtue *of* [b] *my station*,

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[a] Gwenwlad; not Britannia, but the Avallon or Elysium of the mystics.

[b] Ym rhagwedd, i. e. *the place in which I am present.*

Rather than with favour, or with hostility.
Tysilio, beyond all controversy,
Touching my sanctuary declares far too much.
God produced out of the number of snakes
An huge viper extremely erratick,
The son of Arddun the nine-times honoured,
The fostering preserver of his childhood,
Son of generous-breasted Brochvael, defying the sun.
A heaven did he make on the earth of Eivyonydd,
Serpent of assault, of prison, of exile,
Of exile from the central perfect place of meeting;
A serpent, whom to seize on, were a serious experiment,
The chief reward would be to deserve pity.
The serpent was born of a noble race,
Great sovereign of the great land[a] of the Society.
The serpent occasion'd the dismissing
Of sadness, and of God's commandment unto women,
By the famous woman, audacious in the transgression.
His pervading course was through truth.
Of a small space small is the produce.
The space is almost choaked with thistles.
The people of earth cannot keep up what is right.
The rectitude of God, despised is its greatness.

This is in the style of one wishing to express much, yet afraid to make himself understood. Does not Cynddelw appear to regard both the Devil and Tysilio with feelings of qualified disapprobation, and with a sort of regret that two such accomplished personages should have committed such serious indiscretions? We learn, that as the Devil was indiscreetly communicative to our general mother, so Tysilio communicated more to the world than they had any business to know. The same author is severely spoken of in the following verses:[b]—

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[a] Powys, where Cynddelw presided over the Bardic association.

[b] Cynddelw, Privileges of Powys, printed in Arch. Myvyr. 1. 257. and in the introductory pages to E. Llhuyd's Etymologicum.

A songster possessing skill in harmony praises thee,
In a song uninterrupted, not deceitful;
A song lofty, vociferous, not silent,
Not the detested song of the followers of Tysilio.

The tendency of this passage is less obvious than that of the preceding. But they both of them revile Tysilio (whose poetical works are next to nothing, and whose followers or gosgordd in poetry are quite unknown) for introducing some novel and bad system. The Book of St. Greal and the system of *Romance Bardism*, originating from that impure source, must be the object of their alarm or disapprobation. The date, the indiscreetly mystical character of the Book, and the similar character of Tysilio, combine to prove it. It might have been supposed that the Cambrian Biography art. Tysilio would illustrate what relates to him; but the reader will find there rather less than he knew before.

The legend of Lancelot du Lac contain passages of the occult philosophy sufficient to shew that it was not written in mere play, but that its authors knew more than they should. That philosophy enters into the Romances both Arthurian and Carlovingian, and they most of them convey portions of the Bardic mystery, though under a diversity of names and symbols. But the Saint Greal may be regarded as the primary model of that literature, equally odious and tedious, and, probably, the only work of that description of which the original was entirely written in the ancient Welsh.

III. The Triads are valuable, notwithstanding the folly and cabalism which suggested such a mode of recording facts and precepts. Useful matter may be elicited from them. But Dr. Owen, said too much, in calling them "documents of undoubted credit," and not near enough, in saying that they come down to the "beginning of the 7th century." The compilation is not ancient. It mentions Hoel Dda, William the Conqueror, and lastly, the betrayal of Llewellyn[a] ap Gryffydd to Edward the First. That date is of cardinal importance.

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[a] Williams on Pelagianism, p. 53. Triad 22. Ser. 3. Arch. 2. p. 62.

The first question a sober critic would ask is,—" before or after Llewellyn's death?" The Neo-British literature existed with some sort of continuity from Honorius to Llewellyn. Then it was persecuted, its books destroyed or concealed, and it professors slain or driven into hiding places. Whatever is of a subsequent date is an attempt to collect and patch together fragments. The name [a] Llawnslot *dy Lac* is not Welsh at all (so as to make sense) but is the French title Lancelot *du Lac*, taken out of the Romances. The Triadists sometimes betray their ignorance of the Bardic hierography, which they have the simplicity to accept in a literal sense, and so betray, at the same time, the little tricks they have themselves been guilty of to promote their fantastical plan. The *Triad of Oxen* quaintly interweaves with its prose the 39th verse of the Preiddeu Annwn, probably with no more notion than its readers what those strange words imply. A Triad is cited by Dr. Owen in his Biography, which relates that Gwgawn Cleddifrudd, of whose death Taliesin speaks in one of his undoubted poems, was one of three sentinels at a battle in 603; whereas, by his own shewing, Taliesin ceased to flourish in 570,[b] and therefore his life could not have extended over that battle. But the Triadist failed of observing that the aforesaid is but one out of four consecutive titles[c] given, poetically or mystically, to Arthur himself. The British name Flamdwyn is repeatedly used by Taliesin, and it is agreed on all hands that he means to imply Ida, first king of Northumberland, and calls him Flame-Bearer on account of his incendiary ravages. The Triadist, meeting with that purely Welsh name, thought it the name of some British chief, and as it was a spare name, unappropriated by historians, and available for a Triad, he hatched the following production. "Three Unchaste Wives[d] of the Isle of *Prydain*, who were the three daughters of Culvynawyd *Prydain*, Essylt Fyngwen the adulteress with Trystan ab Tallwch, Penarwen the wife of Owain ap Urien, and Bun the wife of Flamdwyn." By this account, the ferocious Angle, the destroyer of

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[a] Tr. 61. p. 14. 105. p. 73.
[b] Camb. Biogr. in Taliesin.
[c] Milwyr st. 44. p. 81.
[d] Tr. 56. p. 14.

Northern Britannia, and its defender, Owen of Reged, married two sisters, while the third sister was married to March[a] King of Cornwall, and was La Belle Yseult of that wildly fabulous character Sir Tristan de Leonnois! We shall have occasion to shew that no such man ever existed. Ida, meanwhile, unconscious of these family connexions and of his own disgrace, continued to devastate the domains of Urien and his allies, and lived with Bebba his consort in whose name he founded his capital city Bebbanburg. The author's courage deserted him when he had to find a proper name for Flamdwyn's wife, and so he styled her *bun*, i. e. *a woman*. It is in vain to reply that the invader might perhaps have married an islander; for, admitting that a British lady had gone over to the couch of the detested Flame-bearer, none would have cared to inquire whether or not she had defiled it, and she would not have been a *Wife of Britain*. The whole collection is of Trioedd Ynys Prydain; and these are three wives of Ynys Prydain—according to the writer's intent—and upon the face of his statement—which sets forth a British father, three British daughters, and three British *names of husbands*. Had he guessed that Flamdwyn was Ida, he would either not have mentioned him, or have called him by his name. A lyric epithet, in a strange language, is not a name, and is not *substituted* for a man's name in prosaic history, unless by mistake; *superadded* to it, it may be, even in prose. I will give another instance of simplicity in the Triadists. It was said, in Bardic phrase, that certain clans of Britons fought battles in fetters, having their legs linked together, by two and two. And the thing signified is, that they were united together by the solemn pagan sacrament of Brotherhood in Arms, which was ratified by drinking of each other's blood, and bound the two warriors to stand by each other through good and evil fortune, either for a single adventure or for life, as the compact might run. In the most extreme cases, like that of Asmund and Aswit, it was like the contract of a Brahminical wife,

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[a] *March*, a horse, son of Meirchion, the horses, and husband to Fyngwen, the mare with *a white mane!*

and precluded survivorship. Such was the form of it among the heathen Celts[a], who called such united brethren Soldurs or Silodurs, i. e. Devoted. Six hundred such were attached to the life and fortunes of the Gaul Adcantuan, and the like number to the Gaul Adiatomus. None were ever known to survive the object of their vow, whether he died in battle or in his bed. The fettered clans, according to the Triads[b], were that of Caswallawn Llaw-Hir, when he drove the Irish out of Mona, that of Rhiwallon ap Urien in his battles with the Saxons, and that of Belin ap Lleyn in his campaign against Edwin in Rhos. But it is added, that they took off the leg-bands with which their horses were adorned, in order to fetter themselves together by two and two! The author, being unable to understand an allegory of no great depth, has been led into the monstrous absurdity of supposing that those Britons waddled into action with their legs tied, and offering an easy prey even to women and boys.

The very nature of Triads is apt to generate fiction or perversion of truth. When only two of any given category were forthcoming, the author would not be scrupulous in providing himself with a third. On the other hand, I should vindicate him from an injustice the translators do him in rendering Tri by "The Three," when he has put no *the* at all. The number was accounted fortunate, and they took a pleasure in binding up all their ideas into little sheaves or fasciculi of three, but in so doing they did not mean to imply that there were no more such. The practice is pitiful enough without thus exaggerating its folly. For instance, the Triads of chaste maidens and chaste wives of Britain, cannot mean to calumniate the chastity of all Britain besides. But, let us even admit that there were only three chaste wives, and then there must have been more than *three unchaste* ones. No negative can be inferred from a Triad, and the article which implies one is an interpolation of translators. Very rarely there is a distinct negation; which exception proves the rule.

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[a] Cæsar B. G. 3. 22. Nic. Damasc. ap. Athen. 6. p. 249.

[b] Tr. 49. p. 12. Owen's Triads in Gent. Mag. Jan. 1789.

The Triads reflect, in a small and moderately faithful mirror, various passages of Bardic composition which are lost.

IV. Next to the Bards themselves, the name of Saint Gildas the Wise is the most celebrated and authoritative. He was of a Bardic family and connexion, and originally an esteemed poet and bard himself. He was son to a Prince in the parts of Cumbria, by name Caw, grandson to the Plymouth Admiral Geraint ap Erbin, and brother to the Bard Aneurin. He was a disciple of the British Doctor, Catwg the Wise. In his younger days he went over to Ire (Ireland), where he visited the schools of the learned, and inquired their[a] opinions in philosophical and divine matters. But in the course of his life he became a sincere and zealous Christian minister, and is thought, by some who identify Aneurin with him, to have exchanged the name Aneurin, i. e. Not Golden, for Gildas, i. e. Productive or Useful, when he abjured the errors of the Bards to follow and teach a better way. Some lists of the sons of Caw include Gildas, and some Aneurin, but none is found to contain both names, which circumstance, coupled with their both being reputed eminent poets, led Messrs. E. Williams and W. Owen into that notion. The following objections form an answer to it. It is true that Gildas had a bardic name, while he followed that profession; but it was a different one, viz. Alawn. Lilius Gyraldus says, the most famous poets of Britannia were Plemmydius, Oronius, and *Gildas*, and a Triad says,[b] the three primary bards were Plennyd, *Alawn*, and Gwron, which latter in syntax is written Wron. Aneurin died a violent death by the hands of an assassin in this island, but no such thing is recorded of St. Gildas, whose worshippers would not have neglected so fair a pretext for giving him a martyr's crown; neither did Gildas, nor could Gildas, return to the island after what he had written of its princes, clergy, and people. He passed over from Great to Little Britain, and is said to lie buried there in[c] the Cathedral of Vannes.

There are extant in his name a short History of the Britons, and

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[a] Vit. Gild. ap Mabillon Act. Benedict. 1. p. 144.

[b] Tr. 58. p. 67.

[c] Britannia Sancta. p. 81. 2.

an Epistle to the Tyrants of Britain, both in the Latin language, rather abusive and jejune productions, which derive their chief value from the extreme paucity of our authentic materials. Mr. P. Roberts contended, with shrewdness and elegance of criticism, that they were forgeries concocted by some zealous Romanist to render odious the schismatic Church of Britannia, and to shew against them, out of the mouth of an eminent Briton, an authority in favour of the Papal supremacy and apostolical succession of St. Peter. He argues upon the ground of Gildas asserting the rights of the Chair of St. Peter (sedes Petri), and treating those who were not in communion with Rome as schismatics. The fraud must have been done, if at all, before the days of Beda and Alcuin. Mr. Roberts sought to fix the fraud upon St. Adhelm of Shireburn, who was a professed apostle for converting the Britons to conformity; and a happy coincidence of phraseology assisted him in that endeavour. But I am satisfied that all this is mere ingenuity, and not sound stuff. Adhelm was as conversant with Gildas, as were Beda and Alcuin, and copied some of his pompous phrases. It was incumbent on Mr. Roberts to shew that, in or about the year 544, the Church and Bishop of Rome had not yet asserted a superiority by Apostolical right over the whole Church or, at the least, the whole Western Empire. This he leaves untouched, though it involves the entire essence of his argument; and in fact he durst not touch it. In the third century St. Cyprian[a] spoke of "the Chair of Peter, and the principal Church whence arises the unity of the priesthood," and termed the Bishop of Rome "the Vicar and Successor of the Martyrs." In the fifth century, and about 100 years before Gildas wrote, St. Leo the Great, Bishop of Rome,[b] asserted, that "principal episcopacy resided in Peter as the principal Apostle," that "the care of the Universal Church devolved upon the one seat of Peter, in order that no part of the church might any where dissent from its head," and again, that he "bestowed his care by Divine appointment upon the Universal Church." He received from the

[a] Ep. 35. and 67.

[b] Ep. ad Episc. Prov. Vienn. Ep. ad Anastas. Ep. ad Africanos.

Emperors Theodosius and Valentinian, the legal[a] enactment of his supremacy in the Western Empire, and protested[b] against the decision of the Council of Chalcedon, which gave the Bishop of Constantinople the like authority in the East. Ennodius, Bishop of Pavia,[c] some fifty years before Gildas, told Pope Symmachus, that "the Apostolic seat was regulated by the care of his crown, and that he ruled the summit of the celestial empire." Symmachus (he said) is esteemed the Vicar of the Apostle Peter. And the successors of Peter, according to Ennodius, were not endowed with *peccability* (peccandi licentia) because Peter bequeathed to them an everlasting dowry of merits and an hereditary innocence. Thus Mr. Roberts's whole structure is undermined and falls, for the language of Gildas on these heads is milder than that of his precursors.

The address to Constantine and the other obscure princes of that time is penned with all the bitter feelings of a contemporary, with the minute knowledge of a contemporary, and on topics unconnected with Romanism; whereas, it is not probable that Adhelm could have rehearsed even the names of those ancient tyrants. If it were true that he said, "Dei contemptor sortisque ejus depressor, Cuneglasse, Romanâ linguâ lanio fulve," the writer would seem to be an impostor, because Cynglas does not signify, in any dialect, "a tawny[d] butcher;" but those words contain a slight error of the text, such as the pages of Gildas[e] are besprinkled with, and the real words are, Romanæ linguæ lanio fulve, "thou red-haired barbarian, *who makest a butchery of the Latin language* whenever thou speakest it."

The violence of his invectives against the British nation is no indication of Saxon forgery. Gildas had the warmth of a Celt, and

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[a] Novell. Theod. tit. 24. Valent. tit. 17.

[b] Leo Epp. ad Marcian. Pulcher. et Anatol.

[c] Ennod. *L.* 5. Ep. 10. pro synodo p. 324.

[d] How could Mr. Turner imagine that lanio fulvus meant "a yellow bull-dog"? Hist. Anglos. 1. 196. ed. 4.

[e] For catule Leoline Aurelî Conane, you must read catule Leolini, whelp of Llewelyn; else catule will stand out of syntax and without meaning, and Aurelius Conan will obtain a third name which no one else bestows upon him.

the fury of a Bard, converted into that of a Christian zealot, but not extinguished; and he had abandoned his country to lay his bones in Armorica, from which secure station he bitterly reviled both the princes and people of his native land. He was no calumniator, as we shall see in the sequel. They *were* apostates from their God, they were seditious, turbulent, and perfidious, and honoured wicked tyrants more than just men, yet murdered even them to elect others as bad, they did love lies and the fabricators of lies, they did take Satan for an angel of light, they did anoint their kings *but not by God*, and they had done in Gildas's latter days (as they did afterwards) all that a nation can do to work out its own extermination. All this did St. Gildas affirm with truth, and if with an unsaintly violence, we may remember the observation made with much simplicity[a] by Giraldus, that "as the people both of Hibernia and Cambria are more ireful and vindictive than others when living, so, in their life after death the saints of those countries are more vindictive than any others."

The invectives lavished upon the Emperor Clemens Maximus, one of the more respectable of those generals whom their soldiers arrayed in the faded purple, prove the authenticity of the Historia. Maximus is a man upon whom the Romanists look with respect, on the authority of Orosius and St. Sulpicius Severus. He bears no such reputation for tyranny, cunning, perjury, and falsehood, as Gildas gives him; but the Britons, and afterwards the Welsh, never pardoned him for that which he did with no evil intent, but with consequences unhappy to their nation, taking over to Gaul a large army of their most able-bodied warriors, who by his ultimate bad success were entirely lost to the island, and left it stripped (as Gildas saith) "of all armed soldiers and military forces." There can be no doubt that a Briton here speaks, and in almost the same words as the Triadist,[b] who says, that the expedition of Macsen Wledig left the nation of the Cymry so *devoid of armed men*, that they were invaded by the Gwyddel Fichti, and obliged to call in the Saxons, &c. "By him (says[c] a speech in Tysilio) we have been deprived of all our warriors.'

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a Itin. Camb. 2. c. 7. Top. Hib. c. 55. b Tr. 14. p. 60. c P. 104. Roberts.

But this is the main point, to shew that Gildas is no forgery of Adhelm's. When Hengist arrived (saith Gildas) he was forewarned by a prophecy, which he accounted certain, that he should obtain possession of the land on which he was disembarking for the term of 300 years. The author, without averring his own belief in the prophecy, quotes it with a respect that seems to imply as much. That prophecy purports, that the Saxons should be expelled from the whole island, even from Kent, in the year 749. But St. Adhelm flourished about 700. It is a wild incredibility for any man to propound, that the princely Bishop of Wessex, nephew to King Ina, forged a book in the name of Gildas, announcing on prophetic authority the speedy expulsion of his own family and nation from the British Island! The same prophecy offers a chronological proof of the antiquity of the Historia. It says, that the desolation of Britannia by the Saxons was destined to endure for 150 years, i.e. till the year 599 or 600. But at that epoch the struggle between the two nations was yet raging, and continued to do so for nearly ninety years more. Thereby it is manifest, that the treatise was composed *before the close of the sixth century*.

The argument founded upon the reputation of the man as contrasted with the merit of the works has no weight with me. The Bards of that century, especially his brother Aneurin, have left great names, with slender pretensions to enjoy them. Ruined Britannia contained but few Latinists, who could hammer out even such fustian periods as those of Gildas. Lilius Giraldus says, that his elegies were written with great facility and "therefore were not totally contemptible." Whether the Elegies which bore his name were contemptible or not, may be judged from a fragment of them, which Mr. Roberts found in John of Fordun, and cites with some[a] degree of triumph,—

Antiquos reges, justos, fortes, locupletes,
Largos, *famosos*, Scotia mæsta *luget*,
Ut Merlinus ait, post reges *victoriosis*, etc.

. . . . .

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a Collect. Cambr. p. 196. Fordun. p. 634.

Historiæ veteris Gildas *luculentus orator*
Hæc retulit, parvo carmine plura notens.

The following quatrain is nearly of the same quality:

Ut profert aquila veteri de turre locuta,
Cum Scotis Britones regna paterna regent.
Regnabunt pariter in prosperitate quieta
Hostibus expulsis judicis usque diem.

Can it be said of such a poet that any prose is too bad for him? In fact, the prose of Gildas is greatly superior, nor could its author have descended to such base trash as this. Probably the Muse of Gildas is neither guilty, nor quite innocent, of these screech-owl tunes. They are bald translations[a] of British verses composed by Gildas, when he was a Bard, and was engaged in those heathenish and Anti-Roman fictions, to which the verses relate, and which same with the entire system to which they belonged were in his after-life the objects of his most intense hatred. Gildas had excelled in such literature as the Cumbrian Britons possessed, and confined himself to the use of Latin when he was of mature age and had devoted himself to the offices of religion and the study of the Vulgate; so that he never acquired any excellence as a Latinist proportionable to his prior reputation as a Briton.

One passage only bears the manifest stamp of interpolation, seemingly anterior[b] to Beda; but is inserted by an enemy rather than a friend to Rome. It is the exclusive praise bestowed (in the Historia) upon one "Ambrosio Aureliano, viro modesto qui solus fuit comis,[c] fidelis, fortis, veraxque, *fortè Romanæ gentis*, qui tantæ tempestatis collisione, occisis in eâdem parentibus purpurâ nimirum im-

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[a] *Judicis usque diem*, seems to be the Bardic common-place *hyd brawd*. In the Marwnad Milveib the same words are expressed by

"Usque in diem judicii."—Arch. 1. p 171.

[b] Some MSS. of Paul Warnfrid have been interpolated with words closely similar. The same may have been done to Beda. Sed qu.

[c] Vulgo *comes*, which is nonsense.

butis, superfuerat, cujus (viz. [a] Romanæ gentis) nunc temporibus nostris soboles magnoperè avitâ bonitate degeneravit." Gildas wrote his Epistle from Armorica in 543, or 544, Cystennin ap Cadwr being King of Britannia. The story of his opening a school at Bath in 555 may, therefore, be rejected as a fiction. I also disbelieve his having lived to so late a date as 570, or having been born so late as 500. But the reign of Ambrose ended in 500, the time of the birth of Gildas, or, rather, when Gildas was a young man. He lived and flourished in the succeeding reigns of that king's brother and nephew. It is, therefore, incredible that he should say, "*perhaps* he was a Roman," knowing, so well as he did, all about him. It is the phrase of a much later author, conjecturing the nation of Ambrosius Aurelianus, from the apparent Latinity of his name. The Welsh appellation, there rendered Aurelianus, is rendered Aurelius by Gildas in his Epistle. Moreover, the assertion that his father was an emperor, means the common legend of his being son to Constantine of Arles, a thing so very[b] fabulous, that Gildas could not have written it, nor any contemporary of Gildas.

The lost work of Gildas entitled "On the Victory of Aurelius Ambrosius" must be condemned as spurious on the same ground. Besides that little work, there existed formerly a more extensive but fabulous history of Britannia in the most ancient times, sometimes ascribed to Gildas. In it the author of Geoffrey's Brut had read the history of Nennius, or Niniaw, brother of Cassivellaunus, who fought with Julius Cæsar and took his sword, and had a controversy with Cassivellaunus, whether or not Troynovant should be called London; which controversy was related in the said history with copious details. The same work also treated of Dyvnwal Moelmud and his laws. But it could not have come down later than Cæsar's time, because there once existed an idle belief that the same Nennius, who took his sword, wrote the history.

A great obscurity hangs over the name of the historian Nennius.

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[a] For Ambrose left no posterity. No legend speaks of him as having either wife or child.

[b] Of which more hereafter.

The work printed in Gale under his name bears in some MSS. the name of Gildas, and used formerly to be quoted under that name; yet the preface of the author avows that he wrote it in A. D. 858, and in the 24th year of the reign of Prince Mervyn Vrych. But the work published by Mr. Gunn from the Vatican, being slightly different from that in Gale, bears the name of Mark the Hermit. That author mentions, that the Picts then continued to hold one of the three divisions of Britannia, which proves it to have been written anterior to A. D. 841, in which the Pictish nation was abolished by Kenneth King of Scots. Niniaw himself is said to have escaped from the massacre of the monks of Bangor[a] in 613, and to have written his[b] history about 620. To him we should ascribe the history which came down to Julius Cæsar, and contained the great actions and discourses of his namesake (and, no doubt, pretended ancestor) Niniaw, brother of Caswallawn. It contained (as we learn from Ponticus Virunnius) those elegant verses which adorn the Latin version of Geoffrey, and which Gildas could neither have written nor duly appreciated. But neither the work of Mark nor the Galèan Nennius can boast of such an early date. They contain a very brief summary of the more ancient British History, and the subsequent part of their chronicle is perhaps intended for a continuation of that of Niniaw. There appear to have been these several true and false productions of Gildas:—

1. Latin Poems—British Doctrine—probably translated from the British.

2. British Poems—Ditto—cited in Welsh Poetry, A. D. 510—540?

3. History and Epistle—Catholic Doctrine—written by St. Gildas in Armorica, 543 or 4.

4. Historia Britonum—British Doctrine—by Niniaw of Bangor, Gildas of Geoffrey, 620.

5. Victory of Ambrosius—Ditto—Gildas of Geoffrey, A. D. —?

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[a] Bale cit. Gunn in Pref. xx. The precise year of that massacre is disputed.

[b] R. Vaughan in Cambr. Reg. p. 477, 8.

6. History . . . . —Ditto —by Marcus Eremita } Gildas of Sir J. Price, &c. } —circ. 800?
7. Ditto . . . . . —Ditto —by Gale's Nennius.[a] } —A. D. 858.

A man should be somehow pre-eminent to have credit for the compositions of others, and that superiority should be of a kind analogous to the nature of what is fathered upon him, as Epics were upon Homer, Hymns upon Orpheus, Tragedies upon Shakespeare, and Bardic poems upon celebrated Bards. Why the productions of other men should have been assigned to him, and in particular such fabulous and profane legends, does not appear from any thing in the known portion of Saint Gildas's life. But the reader may understand why the name of Gildas was considered worthy of being inscribed on fictitious works of British antiquity, when he considers him under his name of Alawn, and duly weighs the full meaning of the Triad in which he is so called. The *primary organization* of the Bards in fabulous ages is there imputed to Alawn and two others. But Alawn was Gildas; and we are therefore to understand the *re-organization* of their body at the close of the 5th or beginning of the 6th century. That consideration also does away with the argument of literary merit inadequate to personal celebrity. The conspirators who agitate and change the face of nations are rarely men of great excellence in their several lines. Who now reads the trumpery books of Mirabeau, or the vapid orations of Robespierre? Low cunning, brutal courage, a brazen brow, a seared conscience, and just knowledge and skill enough to deceive the vulgarest minds and work upon the vulgarest passions, are the requisites for such a task as Alawn and his confederates executed. We must return to Gildas and his affairs when we come to speak of *The Saints*.

V. The Bruts or Chronicles are in the form of regular histories, giving the successive reigns of the ancient kings of Britannia. Brud, in construction Brut, is Reputation or Rumour, and, in the secondary sense, a Chronicle or History. It retains that original sense in the

[a] This later Nennius was a pupil of Elbod and of Samuel Beulan or Beular.

French and English word *bruit*,[a] and though it is curious that all the Welsh Chronicles begin with the reign of Brutus, we must not be seduced by that accident into etymological trifling. They were first made known to the English and French by the Latin version which Geoffrey ap Arthur, Archdeacon of Monmouth, and afterwards Bishop of St. Asaph, made from a MS. which Walter de Mapes, otherwise called Calenius, Archdeacon of Oxford, brought out of Little Britain. Geoffrey was a man of much simplicity and candour, and slender scholarship, and states that he carefully translated it in his own simple style. The dialect in which it was written does not appear, as his MS. is not forthcoming. But a version from his Latin into Welsh is printed in the Archæology, and entitled the Brut G. ap Arthur. It was quite anonymous ; Geoffrey does not attempt any conjecture as to the author; and Alfred of Beverley, who lived at the same time, and was a shrewd inquiring man, was able to give him no other title than Britannicus. Geoffrey received from the same hands a narrative of the emigration of the British clergy into Armorica, which interesting tract he expressed his intention of translating; but he never did, or we have lost the translation.

The same Walter (to whom, of all foreigners, British literature is most indebted) possessed the Brut or Chronicle of Tysilio, which he translated into Latin, and again (as he says) from the Latin into the Welsh. The latter only seems to be now in existence. It is impossible to say why he did so. It may have been because he had lost the original, or rather because the language of Tysilio was growing obsolete, and not easy[b] to understand among the modern Welsh. Tysilio flourished between[c] A.D. 660 and 720. He was a priest, who built the Church of Llandysilio in Anglesea, and a saint to whom various

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[a] That word is pronounced brut, brudi, and broudi, in the French of the Southern Provinces. Dict. Limousin de Beronie.

[b] In one respect he studied conformity to the original. The proper names have a British form, as Esgannys, Sylhys, Bryttys, Lattinys, Bendrassys, etc.; instead of Ascanius, Sylvyus, Brutus, Latynus, and Pandrasus, which we read in the Welsh version of G. ap Arthur's Latin.

[c] Arch. Myv. 1. xxiii.

churches were dedicated. A few verses of his are in existence; and Rowlands[c] mentions that he wrote an Ecclesiastical British History, of which some fragments had lately been seen, but were lost when Rowlands wrote. I have already pointed him out as the anonymous author of a most infamous blasphemy. His Brut is a History of Britain, from Brutus to Cadwallader, and is the prototype of all those anonymous histories which differ from it only in some particulars, seven of which are enumerated by Mr. Roberts, and their variations observed in his translation of Tysilio.

The most celebrated of these is the one which Geoffrey ap Arthur translated. It cannot, I think, be doubted, that Geoffrey was not a licentious translator of Tysilio, who assumed the liberty of altering to what extent he pleased; but the translator of a different Chronicle. Walter de Mapes would not have translated into Latin the same MSS. which his friend Geoffrey had already translated. If that great Celtic scholar had done so, because he was dissatisfied with Geoffrey's inaccuracy, his own more excellent version must have superseded the other in the estimation of the public, whose attention was engrossed by the book, beyond all example in the literary apathy of those times; whereas it never seems to have seen the light. Nor would Geoffrey have published, as an anonymous work, that MS. which bore the name of Tysilio.

Giraldus Cambrensis and William of Newburgh, men whose writings are a scandal to the credulity of any age, besides their own private jealousies, were so utterly devoid of the elements of criticism or logic, as to assail the veracity of Geoffrey, not for misrendering the original, which same they had never read, but because the facts contained in the book were fabulous and incredible. Upon that principle old Sandys, the translator of Ovid, must have been the greatest liar England ever saw. He begins with telling us that a lady was turned into a laurel bush! Mr. Sharon Turner is incapable of such a confusion of ideas. But that author has in several places intimated his opinion, that Geoffrey was an original fabulist, and a gross lite-

[c] Mona Antiqua, p. 189.

rary impostor. An opinion, expressed without any reasons assigned for it, and seriously impugning a moral character as pure and undamaged as that of him who delivers the opinion, does not, upon general principles, present matter for controversy. But the weight and just celebrity of the author may require it.

This fact, which every one, from William of Newbridge to Mr. Turner, has omitted to set forth, must be called into mind. The production of the British History was no act of Geoffrey's own, but the joint act of himself and Walter de Mapes; and if the work was a forgery, it was forged by the latter. If there was fraud at all, it was conspiracy. Caradoc of Llancarvan was a friend of Geoffrey, and wrote his Chronicle of Welsh Princes, as a [a] professed continuation of the Brut of Geoffrey. He was a Welshman who composed in his native tongue, and, if it were false that Geoffrey possessed an original of his Latin book, the falsehood of it could not be unknown to Caradoc, and the latter must be added to the list of literary conspirators. To suppose conspiracy, we must have strong improbabilities to contend with, so strong, as to deprive three learned men[b] of the ordinary presumptions in favour of their common honesty. But the monk of Llancarvan does not rely on mere ordinary presumptions. No motive but national vanity could dictate such a fraud in the 12th century; and from that weakness Caradoc was nearly exempt. I am not aware that he has magnified, extenuated, or distorted, any fact, either from dishonesty or from credulous partiality.

There is no improbability in the existence of such a Chronicle. The principal matters contained in it were notoriously extant before Geoffrey's time. Taliesin twice recognizes the descent of the Britons from the Trojans. Their voyage to Britain was remembered by the poets under a Bardic name, quite different from the Brutus of the Bruts, and connected [c] with their mysteries, though perhaps capable

[a] See the concluding section of Geoffrey, where he says, "Caradoco Lancarbanensi, contemporaneo meo in materiâ scribendi, permitto" the series of princes who succeeded Cadwallader.

[b] To the literary character of one of whom, Walter, Giraldus himself bears respectful testimony. De Libris a se scriptis, p. 440.

[c] See Triad 97. p. 71.

of being ultimately identified with Brutus, Nevydd Nav Neivion; David ap Gwilym, compares the sousing he got upon a foul winter's night to

[b] "The floating that old Neivion performed,
From great Troy over to Mona."

Giraldus Cambrensis (whose folly and malevolence went so far, as to assert in earnest, and confirm it by a disgusting narrative, that Geoffrey's History, laid upon a man's breast, would raise up a [c] legion of devils) was well acquainted with the legend of [d] Brutus and Camber. Mr. Gunn's Marcus and the Nennius of Gale are witnesses (of the 9th century or earlier) to the whole succession, nearly as it is given by Geoffrey, and their work is a *Brut y Breninodd*, nothing more or less. Neither was it the first such. Niniaw (Pseudo-Gildas of Geoffrey) had gone before them in the beginning of the 7th century. Nor was he, as their own account shews, the only precursor of Mark and the Galean writer. For they quote a variety of kingly successions derived from Brutus, which they call experimenta, one of which contains names of kings no where else to be found, such as [e] Hisicion and Alanus. Henry of Huntingdon is commended by Geoffrey as a good Saxon historian, but is said to be a bad British one, because he was unacquainted with his British MS. It would follow from thence that Henry did not borrow any part of his British History from him; even

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[b] Erchi i Forfudd, etc. v. 27. p. 106.

[c] Melerius was freed from the presence of the devils when the Gospel of John was laid on his breast, but when it was removed, and the History of Geoffrey substituted in its place, they instantly re-appeared in greater numbers, and remained a longer time on his body and on the book. Colt Hoare's Giraldus Itin. p. 106, 7. Giraldus was cotemporary with Geoffrey, and acquainted with Melerius, whom he had probably tutored in dishonesty.

[d] Gir. Descr. Hoare 2. 287. Illandabilia Walliæ, c. 7. p. 451.

[e] In S. R. Meyrick's History of Cardigan the Chronicle of Tysilio is quoted as placing Hisichion, first in the succession of Kings and anterior to Brutus; and the same author takes the liberty of identifying king Hisichion with Hu Gadarn. Pref. p. xvi. Nothing of the sort is to be found in Tysilio either as edited by the Myvyrians, or as translated by Mr. Roberts. It is for the historian of Cardigan to justify his assertion.

if his succession did not contain a nomenclature unknown to Geoffrey, such as Dardanus, Troius, Posthumus, and Bruto. Yet Henry had read and copied a regular *Brut of Kings*. I cannot imagine, why the existence of all these fabling Bruts should be thus certain, and yet the existence of one more be a manifest falsehood.

Geoffrey[c] states, that Molmutius Dunwallo compiled the Molmutian laws "*famous among the English to this day.*" You may falsely assert a fact relating to times past, but you cannot produce a new fact, and assert its previously existing notoriety. That is so prominent an argument in Mr. Faber's Horæ Mosaicæ, that I need not labour it. Therefore, he did not invent the history of king Dyvnwal Moelmud. But if his story was then in existence from of old, why not also that of Ferrex and Porrex his predecessors, and Belinus his successor, and their predecessors and successors? He surely did not stand as an insulated point in indefinite time, or like Melchisedech, "without father, without descent," but belonged to an historical succession. The same argument, which arises upon the Molmutian laws, applies to the praises of the British Kings, and of Arthur in particular; for he says in his preface, "their actions *are* by many nations firmly retained in mind, and recited from memory with pleasure;" if, therefore, their fame has outgrown its just dimensions, it was not by his act and contrivance.

The behaviour of Geoffrey argues sincerity and good faith. He details how he obtained the book, and why, and how, he rendered it. He declares that the very long Ambrosian prophecy, which forms his 7th book, was no part of that MS. but a separate piece inserted therein by desire of the Bishop of Lincoln. When he comes to the Aquiline Prophecy at Shaftsbury, he says, "I should not have failed of transmitting the speech to posterity, had I thought it as true[c] as the rest of the history," and omits it. That shews that he was not even willing, as he well might have done, to translate the fictions of others. At the commencement of book XI. he says, that his account of Arthur's last war with Medrawd was not translated from his MS. with exact-

[c] G. M. L. 2. c. 2.

ness, but epitomized from that in conjunction with the information he had obtained from Archdeacon Walter. I will proceed to some more minute illustrations, the number of which might, I suppose, be much increased.

The martyrdom of 11,000 virgin pilgrims at Cologne is asserted in the Martyrology of Beda (12 Cal. Nov. in Colonia[b] Sanctarum Virginum 11,000) and the Ephemerids of Wardalbertus Abbas in the 9th century speak of the maidens,

> "Of whom, in the Agrippine city, impious rage[c]
> Butcher'd the illustrious thousands with their holy leaders."

At the precise time when Geoffrey and Walter flourished, St. Elizabeth of Schonaug, spoke[d] of their festival as an established holiday. But the Bruts distinctly shew, that the women who fell into the hands of the barbarians were shipwrecked on the sea-coast, that they never went near Cologne, that they were engaged in no pilgrimage or pious office, but in the worldly business of laying aside their vaunted virginity, and had no pretensions whatever to canonical honours. Nay, the primary work, Tysilio's,[e] gives no intimation of their murder or other ill treatment, but only says, that *some of them* were taken, and furnished useful information to the Pagan enemy—a most unmartyrlike act, and at variance with the notion of their being massacred. Yet 11,000 martyrs were annually worshipped at Oxford by Tysilio's editor Walter. It is incredible, that the Archdeacons of Oxford and Monmouth should have fabricated such gratuitous insults to the Church of which they were dignitaries; it was even a bold act of probity, thus faithfully to translate the words of another.

If the inserted Ambrosian prophecies be removed, the context of the original work remains entire, and such as to shew that it is faithfully rendered; unless, anticipating the opposite remark, he was wary enough to contrive it thus.

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[b] Beda 3. p. 462. Basil.
[c] Ap. Bed. 1. p. 261.
[d] S. Eliz. Vision 2. c. 2.
[e] See Roberts's Version of it, p. 23.

The Brut of Geoffrey says that Homer has given an account of the foundation of Tours in France by Brutus. Geoffrey could neither have been so utterly ignorant of the drift and matter of Homer's two poems as to think this, nor would he have been so rash as thus to engraft one imposture upon another. But the truth is that the author of this passage, and of one still more extraordinary in the Book of Basingwerk, spoke not entirely without foundation. Forgery was employed in Britannia for the purpose of setting up their fabulous origins. Of this the laws of Dyvnwal Moelmud are one instance, those of Queen Marcia another; and they were not ashamed even to fabricate an Apocalypse in the name of St. John the Divine, for Taliesin says,

John the Divine
Hath call'd me Merddin,
At length every king
Will call me Taliesin.

These passages of the Bruts intimate to us that Homeric poems were forged in order to support the splendid fiction of Brute in Britannia. They have long since perished, as it is to be feared. But, if Colonel Vallancey was not imposed upon, some similar productions are upon record among the Irish. "It is worthy of observation that the Siege[a] of Troy has been written in Irish in a very ancient dialect, and is esteemed by the Irish bards as the greatest performance of their Pelasgian and Magogian ancestors." Geoffrey calls the language which the Trojans spoke *Græcum*[b] *curvum;* meaning a corrupt dialect, or patois, of Greek. That is not classical Latin, nor is it Monkish, or any Latin; but it is pure Welsh. From[c] gwyr, oblique, curved, or bending, comes gwyraw, to pervert, turn aside, or distort, and a great family of ulterior derivatives. A solecism is gwrthun-iaith, i. e. bent or crooked speech. This instance shews how closely Geoffrey followed the original before him. Mr. Roberts has pointed out an in-

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[a] Vallancey Collect. 3. p. 29. [b] G. M. *L.* 1. c. 16.
[c] See Owen Dict. in Vocabulo.

stance where he gave the wrong sense to a word of equivocal meaning, putting a hazel-bush for a cave.

The translator has occasionally added a remark of his own, but then it is palpably of his own; as where he says that Alfred had consulted the laws of Moelmud, and where he quotes that verse of Lucan

Territa quæsitis ostendit terga Britannis.

In the same spirit, Walter, in his Tysilio, has styled the city of Rotomagus, Dinas Roam y Normandi. These things were introduced by Geoffrey without any idea of dishonesty, or of being suspected of fraud, or of any one's taking them for the words of his author. If he had been such as some would have him to be, nothing of the sort would appear in his pages. But I am persuaded that from his days down to our own a stone has not been flung at him by one better than himself. Time, in the abstract, can make no difference. To stop a man in the streets, and say to him, "You are a liar and a knave, and your friend is another," is all one as to say, "Geoffrey and Walter are knaves and liars." It may offend more against the public peace, but in justice and charity, and before Him to whom seven hundred years are as one day, it is all one. So far as the main argument in such cases is concerned, the non-forthcoming of MSS. and genuine vouchers, that is strong against a contemporary who fails in those particulars, but it has no force in such a case as this. Geoffrey declared his possession of it, he made what lawyers call a *profert in curiam* of that document, and must have exhibited it to scores of persons. Geoffrey Gaimar, a Norman, translated the Brut of the Kings into French before 1146, and he refers to certain manuscripts which he[b] made use of to correct Geoffrey's history. He calls one of them the History of Winchester, and the other (which was in English) the *Book of Wassinburc*. I suppose the latter was the *Book of Basingwerk* in Flintshire (which is still extant in Welsh) translated. Gaimar is, therefore, an authority to shew that other Bruts, not consulted by Geoffrey, were extant at the time when he produced his. Of course we might cast upon

[b] Archæologia, 12. p. 310.

him the same imputations which Geoffrey ap Arthur has incurred under the like circumstances; but (as it has been well said by a Frenchman)[a] to do so "would be throwing a scepticism upon the testimony of ancient writers equally dangerous and unjust."

I cannot imagine why Mr. Turner[b] says, that Geoffrey's Merlin contains "more of real British traditions than his History." The latter contains nothing else, if indeed *tradition* be a word justly applicable to those Trojan fictions, and to the chicanery of Tysilio the Briton. But the former were become traditions by Tysilio's time. On the contrary, his Merlin is an original composition, in which he displays his ignorance of the nature of his subject and his limited capacity. With respect to the legend of Arderydd, he transposes the actors in the drama, and marshals Merddin and the other chief combatants in the ranks of their enemies.[d] He regards Merddin as a Christian in the ordinary sense of the word, and a Romanist, and makes him praise St. Austin of Kent, and revile the Britons in the vein of Gildas. He confounds him with the elder Merlin or Ambrosius, and makes him assert that he had prophesied to Vortigern! He puts into his mouth a long tissue of extracts from Pliny or Solinus. And he represents Taliesin as having studied under Saint Gildas in Armorica. His ignorance of British traditions, both in particular, and as to their general spirit, is extreme. That production ill entitles its author to exclaim, as he does in the simplicity of his heart,

Laurea serta date Gaufrido de Monumetâ!

and fully shews that he was no man to execute a deliberate and methodical fiction, such as he has been charged with.

The Brut y Breninodd not only contains those extravagant fictions, which had passed into tradition and were believed by many

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[a] De la Rue in Archæologia, 13. p. 51. De la Rue Bardes Armoricains, p. 57.

[b] Hist. Anglos. 1. p. 282.

[d] An Iliad which represented Hector, King of Greece, besieging Menelaus in Troy would scarcely be more absurd.

in the commencement of the eighth century. But it is also the work of an artful and fraudulent dissembler. The motives that animated Tysilio of Powys to this work of falsehood have been misapprehended. There was more of national shame than pride in them. He alludes briefly to the introduction of Christianity, and of necessity must allude to the prior existence of Paganism. But his slight and rare allusions to that topic are all in language adapted to the classical or Roman heathenism. No hint of the renowned and powerful colleges of the British Clergy, neither Druid, Bard, nor Ovate, neither oak, nor misletoe, nor anguine egg, nor woad-painted skin, may be met with even incidentally in the pages of Tysilio. For some reason or other he looked upon Druidism as a thing *de quo silere pium est.* He flourished in the period immediately following the simultaneous extinction of the British monarchy and Ambrosian magic by the renunciation of Saint Cadwallader. British history, if truly told, was become a tale of humiliating misfortune and almost incredible folly and crime. But circumstances were favourable enough for a falsification of history; which he effected by collecting fabulous legends of facts that never happened, and by giving as literal facts the allegorical expressions in which Bardism delighted, and which it had long made use of for motives analagous to his own. This will appear more clearly in the sequel both as respects him and others.

VI. The Mabinogion are tales in prose, narrating strange and preternatural occurrences, nearly if not entirely exempt from Christian doctrine and allusions, extremely immoral, and strikingly illustrative of the state of mind and feeling in Britannia after the decline of the Roman power. They have never been printed, either in Welsh or English. The Cambro-Briton and Cambrian Register contain the Mabinogi of *Pwyll*, and the Cambrian Quarterly Magazine that of *Math ap Mathonwy*. The name of these tales is derived from Mab, a child; and it has been said, "the Mabinogion[a] or Juvenile Amusements are examples of the species of instruction calculated to improve the mind of the Druidical pupil at a mature period." It is

[a] Camb. Reg. 3. 97.

sufficiently obvious that these strange and by no means inoffensive compositions could never have been adapted to childhood; the childhood alluded to in their title is an early and preparatory stage of initiation. They were calculated to inflame curiosity, to exercise ingenuity, and lead the aspirant gradually into a state of preparation for things which ears, not long and carefully disciplined, were unfit to hear. A complete collection of these would gratify the learned and amuse the ordinary reader, and I am persuaded a rapid and extensive sale would reward the labours of a faithful translator, belonging to no sect or party.

The Damhegion, or Æsopian Fables of the Welsh, were translated and prepared [a] for the press by Mr. Evan Evans; but have never been printed to this day. These things are not right. The public does not want scraps and specimens, but critical editions of these very curious works. A complete and scholarlike edition and version of the Old Bards, with various readings, indexes, and notes, explaining and justifying the editor's interpretations or amendments, executed with care, and with no taint of *bardism*, and no misplaced patriotism, but with such critical method and apparatus as is applied to Pindar or Æschylus, would be a desirable work and should long since have been executed. If a want of encouragement has prevented these works from being hitherto completely executed, that reason will I hope no longer operate; and if there have been any who have had the inclination and the influence to prevent a full disclosure of their contents "before the light of the day and the eye of the sun," I should hope that such influence was now upon the wane.

VII. Having premised so much upon the original materials, I will venture to add that the style of criticism employed upon them has not on the whole been good or useful. Derivations of words and things must be attempted with care. I am not now quite so easily led away by systematists or into their courses, as the mind is apt to be in the earlier years of life. Etymology is well enough, when it is applied to the comparison of words in the same dialect, or in the

[a] Camb. Reg. 3. 98.

cognate dialects of one language, and, even so, is executed with care and a just sense of analogy. But when it is raked up from all various æras and climates, and when a faint similitude of sounds, or even an occasional agreement of words, is made the basis for facts, important and general in their nature, remote in their supposed date, unknown, and unattested, it becomes as Lord Coke termed it "scientia ad libitum," or as Buchanan said, "quodlibet ex quolibet."

Men and their languages have been so intermixed by various causes, that any two copious languages will furnish a copious list of parallels. As the critic becomes less dainty, either as to the degree of resemblance in sound, or of agreement in sense, the list will lengthen. If they whose vocation it is so to do, cannot prove *by such means as those* that Latin is Gaelic, or that German is Latin, or that Welsh is Sclavonic, they can prove nothing, and are unworthy to sit in any society of antiquaries.

Derivation of things, though not such a mere quodlibetical science as that of words, is very liable to be abused. Men all, as men, resemble one another in nature and tendency. As descendants from a common origin, they all resemble one another in transmitted usages. Religious and civil customs were in many respects similar among all the Pagans; and they all had several usages of civil life and of religious ceremony in common with the patriarchal and Levitical worshippers of God. Thus it is easy to get up lists of parallel facts (as well as words) which truly prove nothing, but may be used to prove any thing, e. g. that the Magi were Druids, the Druids Hindoos, the Irishmen Phœnicians, the Jews Heathens, and the Cherokees and Iroquois the Ten Tribes of Israel. This easy task requires the possession or loan of a little learning, and may be said to require no acuteness. It appertains to the school for whose use Irish schoolmasters compose Iberno-Scythic oghams, and the pundits of Benares frame Puranas of unfathomable antiquity, in whose opinion the Carthaginians talked pure Irish, and the book of Joshua was a treatise on astronomy. The facility of obtaining a name for themselves as systematists, of gratifying some nation's vanity, or pro-

moting a favourite object, has led some who might have climbed the steep paths of truth to disport themselves in these pastures.

No man is able to say, nor probably ever will be, where the Gael lived before they were in Ireland. But it can readily be shewn, by *the easy system*, that they came from Phœnicia, or Scythia, or Chaldea. Writers who proceed by such methods as were used by Goropius Becanus, Pezron, Rudbeck, Court de Gebelin, Guerin du Rocher, Vallancey, Wilford, Drummond, E. Davies, or Mr. Faber in his Cabiri, may establish primâ facie nearly whatsoever they think fit. Circumstantial evidence, which is so much prized in law, can hardly obtain a hearing in literature, so grossly has it been abused. That school of authors have wearied the patience of the public as the metaphysicians have, and like them can no longer find many readers.

OR is a favourite particle with them. It insinuates or assumes identity between two or more things. Dr. Owen[a] maintains "the identity of Hu, Huon, *or* Hesus, and Anubis," thereby assuming Lucan's Hesus to be the same person as a certain Huon. Elsewhere he says, that Hu "is[b] unquestionably identified in the *Heus* of Gaul and the Anubis of Egypt." Here is Hesus deprived of his first S to make him a little more like Hu. Moreover the very name of Anubis is identified by this philologist with that of Hu, by a very simple process; it is merely dropping the *an* and the *bis*, and clapping an H before the remaining U. Lastly, he presents us with an identification of "Hu, Huon *or* Hesus, and Hoshea or Osea king of Samaria;" and withal shrewdly insinuates that the Welsh are the lost tribes of Israel. He avoids stating the implied corollary, that

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[a] Cambr. Reg. 3. 164.

[b] Owen's Welsh Dict. A French writer in the Biog. Univ. has since added, that "it is difficult not to approximate the word Heus (for he also docks the first S) to the Scandinavian word Ase, the Tuscan Esar, and the Greek Aisai, who likewise kill people." The author who felt it difficult not to make these remarks, had no difficulty in heading his article *Heu*, although in it he calls the person Heus, and though his real name is Hesus!—Tom. 54.

king Hoshea was Anubis! Pezron asserted that the Titans were the Celts, which done, they were thenceforth "the Titans *or* Celtæ," and whatever was true of a Titan was true of a Celt. "The worship (says a recent author[a]) of Bel, Baal, Belenos, *or* Balanus was much cultivated in Palæstine;" ignorantly fancying that the two former Semitic names were allied to the third Celtic (of the fourth I never heard) he endeavours to palm that fancy upon us by means of the *or*.

One privilege arrogated to themselves, by etymological antiquaries, is a sovereign contempt for the ancients. They neither understood their own languages, nor could they see or hear with any tolerable exactness any thing that existed in the countries with which they were best acquainted. The great statesman and accurate philologist, Julius Cæsar, cannot obtain a patient hearing among Celtic speculators; and Herodotus and Xenophon fare little better in the hands of those who have picked up some modern Persic or Coptic. Court de Gebelin pronounced that Athamas was Adam. He had seen or heard somewhere (where I know not) that Athamas had a wife Demotychè, the meaning of which name is obvious and certain. Adam (says [b]Gebelin) called *sem asty chue*, i. e. *the name of his wife Eve*, and hence the Greeks by mistake called the wife of Athamas *Demostychè*. The said Athamas had two grandsons *Phrontis* and *Melas*, of which common Greek words nobody can dispute the meaning; but according to the Dissertation on the Cabiri, "Phrontis is Ph'Aron-Dus, the God of the Ark, and Melas is M'El-As, the great God of fire." Gracious heavens! what lingo is this?

They have another main point of facility in rejecting the analogies of language. When a word can serve the uses of theory or national vanity, it is separated from all its cognates, and treated as a perfect novelty of unascertained origin and kindred. Pezron in his Table of Latin words taken from the Celtic, has the following morsel. "Hibere, an old word whence came prohibere, to stop; it comes

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[a] Identity of religions called Druidical and Hebrew, p. 26.

[b] Monde Prim. ix. p. clvi.

from the Celtic hybu, signifying the same thing." That prohibere comes from habere, and is formed precisely as inhibere, cohibere, perhibere, exhibere, and adhibere, the Abbè Pezron must have known very well. Cœlestis (cœlestial) is by no means formed by Colonel Vallancey from cœlum, heaven, but from [a]ceo leis teisi, which in the Iberno-Scythic tongue meant *dropping mists*, or *rain*. If (says[b] he) Δυναστης was not formed from the Celtic word tanaiste, I should think it not more naturally derivable from δυναμαι than from dun another Celtic word, meaning a fortified town. To crown the monstrous absurdity of this sentence, he appeals to many instances of the word Dynastes in the second book of the Iliad, whereas it is not once to be found in the entire works of Homer! Thus did Colonel Vallancey vapour through several dreary tomes, like a man telling his dreams. Mr. Roger O'Connor, in his preface to the works of Æolus king of Ireland, endeavours to show that Latin was a dialect of the Irish, and for proof of it remarks that Cincinnatus is merely Ceanceaniateis, i. e. *the head over the head of the people*. That cincinnatus is a regular participle from cincinnare, similar and nearly synonymous to comatus, crinitus, and capillatus, never occurred to his mind. That exercitus is the regular participle of exercere did not occur to him, when he derived it from eisar cateis, i. e. *gathering together the multitudes*. Mr. Grant of Corrimony (after premising that part of the great Gaelic nation, immixed with Pelasgians, became illustrious under the names of Greeks and Romans) observes that the primitive Gaelic words for a house and a residence are teach and tamh. By adding tum[c] to teach the Romans obtained their word tectum, and by adding us to tamh they became possessed of the word domus. Tamh (as Mr. Grant states) is compounded of ti, a man, and uamh, a cave, this great nation having been originally troglodytic. It is prodigious that any writer should take in hand such topics, without knowing that domos, a building, is a noun formed from demo, to build, according to an extensive and exact

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[a] Vall. on Irish Lang. Coll. n. viii. p. 290.

[b] Coll. vol. i. p. 267.

[c] Thoughts on the Gael, p. 36, 7.

analogy, as tromos from tremo, dromos from dremo, gomos from gemo, tomos from temo; and that tectum is merely the participle passive of tego, to cover, conjugated as rectum from rego, lectum from lego, actum from ago, etc. Hu (says Dr. Owen) is a radical, signifying *what is apt to pervade or spread over;* but Hu, or Huon, or An-u-bis is supposed by him to be the same word as Hoshea. Yet Hoshea is a Hebrew word interpreted *salvation.*

Sometimes the operator actually transforms the language of one nation into that of some other, very remote in time and place. Mr. E. Davies, when the fit was on him, printed part of Taliesin's Welsh Poems in Hebrew letters. Mr. Faber, in his Cabiri, mentions that the ancient idolatrous Irish had a portable shrine called arn-breith, "which is evidently arn-berith, the ark of the covenant."[a] He forgets that the Irish did not speak Hebrew but Erse, in which tongue the plain words, arn breith, mean *the judge's doom* or *judgment.* In his Origin,[b] &c. he says, "the Celtic Teutates is clearly the same as the Gothic Teut or Tuishto, and in both these words we recognize one of Buddha's well-known titles Tat, Datta, or Twashta." Which, I suppose, implies that the words Teutones, Deutsch, &c. belonging to the Germanic nations, had the same meaning as appertains to Teutates if considered as a Gaulish or Celtic word. In proportion as we remove from accuracy and realities, the more we hear of *clearly, evidently,* &c. However, the Gothic word *Teut* means *nation,* and Teutates (if a Celtic word) means *God the Father.* The Anglo-Saxon word *bed* is (according to the same author) "palpably derived from bedd (i. e. beth), the Welsh word for a grave or sepulchre."[c] Had the Saxons no beds till they came into Britain? and then, did they sleep in British graves? Sometimes two remote and dissonant tongues are monstrously conjoined in one etymology; as when Bochart derived the Gaulish word Vergobret from farga, *Syriac* for annual, and partus, *Latin* for a birth or production!

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[a] Cabiri 1. p. 219. [b] Or. Pag. Idol. 2. p. 362.

[c] Or. P. Id. 3. p. 310. The verb abidan is probably the root of bed.

The dialogue[a] between M'Queen and Johnson, concerning the temple of Anaitis in the Isle of Sky, affords one of the most useful lessons that can be read to the quodlibetarians.

VIII. The evils of the easy quodlibetical system have particularly affected Celtic researches. Great and populous empires have their minds busy and elated with the present, future, and lately past, and their pride has little need of resorting to fabulous antiquity for its fuel. But the Celts of Wales, Ireland, and Caledonia, are the remnants of a race unsuccessful in its efforts, reduced in circumstances, and with few authentic trophies of past excellence or greatness; therefore those visions of self-complacency in which human weakness delights, and which they cannot behold with the natural eye, they must see in dreams. Like their wild ancestors of old, they lie down and sleep upon the tombs till they see the spirits of their fathers looking through their clouds, and hear the voices of other years. Dim fantastic forms and delusive sounds! Human pride must be fed upon something. Those who are not so now will endeavour to say, we were once pre-eminent.

Moreover, these inquiries were for a long time no part of general literature. "To the rest of the world (says a Welsh lexicographer[b]) we are nearly like the newly-discovered asteroids, hardly recognised as moving in the system of the sun of literature; and our Cimmerian darkness, which above 2000 years ago was impervious to the Greeks, is still lowering round the mountains of the Cymry, so that strangers perceive not the light within." The Celtic antiquary was unmolested in a pursuit of which few cared and fewer were able to partake. Amidst the general neglect and ridicule with which his mightier neighbours received his boasting, he would meet with a credulous few who believed that the Greeks and Romans were Gael, and such like. Whether it was neglect, or whether it was acquiescence, they had it all their own way. And so vast a proportion of their readers

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[a] Boswell's Hebrides, p. 267.

[b] Owen's Introd. to Welsh Dict.

were of their own tribe and connexion, that they could without fear propound many things which could not have been submitted to real criticism.

Ancient Britain and Ireland were peopled by tribes so little advanced in civilization that their vocabulary could not have been very copious. This island (to the wall of Hadrian) was conquered and governed as a flourishing province by the Romans for upwards of three centuries, and after that time was peopled in part by Latinizing Britons (the *Romani* of Taliesin), and by monks and priests whose sacred, learned, and almost vernacular tongue was the Latin. Ireland and Upper Caledonia (for the Lower, between the walls, was for some time part of the province) were in continual intercourse of peace and war with the Roman province. With it they traded. It was the scene of their predatory incursions, and they carried off prisoners from it. Their country was the asylum for criminals, deserters, and adherents of unsuccessful tyrants, who in the decline of the empire carried over the arts of Rome to her rude enemies. The same remarks, all of them, apply to Ireland. Consequently the Erse contains a multitude of Latin words assimilated to Celtic ones, and the Welsh still more. But it is the constant effort of their antiquaries to keep out of sight the centuries of Roman ascendancy, and to represent their travestied Latin as primitive phraseology, as old as the Curetes or the Titans, and corrupted by the ignorant posterity of Romulus and Remus. I believe the endeavour to delatinize the Welsh is not an idea of yesterday. In a MS. of the 10th century (said to be the oldest in Welsh) we find the names which are now altered into Macsen, Cystennin, and Tegid, written Maxim, Constantin, and Tacit. The same suspicion may be drawn from the anomalous mutation inflicted upon Roman words which contain the letter m. An uncompounded word is subject to no mutations but the initial, nor could amwyn or ymyl be changed into avwyn or yvyl; but colovyn, gevell, tervyn, elven, llavyn, have for ages past been substituted for colomyn, gemell, termyn, elmen, and llamyn, and so forth. But if we could find any British writings of the age of Theodosius, we might confidently

expect to see columna, gemellus, terminus, elementum, lamina, &c. so expressed. The old word[a] cusil (consilium) seems to acknowledge that which the modern word cyssyl disguises.

Dr. Owen's Welsh Dictionary is composed in that spirit, as I think it necessary to shew at some length.

Parabola, a parable,[b] is Latin, from the Greek parabolè, which is a noun from the verb paraballo. But parabyl, discourse (says he), comes from parab, aptitude for utterance.

Legion, is from lego, to enroll troops; but lleng, a legion, is from lly and eng.

Cred, faith or belief, is fetched from a British root of totally different meaning.

Sanct, a saint, and sanctiaid, holiness, are spelt without the c; all mention of their being even so spelt is supprest, and the words derived from san, aware, or wary.

Ysbryd, spirit, Holy Ghost, is derived from bryd, mental impulse, and the fact of its being often spelt yspryd supprest.

Cathedra (whence *chair*), is a Greek word adopted into Latin; but cadair, a cathedra of office, cader, a seat or chair, and cadeiriol, a cathedral church, are all derived from cad, battle, and gair, a word.

Diabolus, from the verb diaballo, is in Welsh diavyl, which is derived from gavyl, a fork or angle.

Llyvyr, a book, is not from liber, but from llwv, *apt to move*, or *an oath*.

Martyr, is merely the Greek for a witness; but merthyr, a martyr, is fetched from merth, sad or grievous.

Profes, a profession, is not from profiteri (as confessio from confiteri), but from pro, against, and fes, knowledge.

Esgob, a bishop, is not from episcopus, but from cob, a cloak;

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[a] See Arch. 1. p. 167.

[b] Parable is its true meaning, but parabolari, a bad Latin word for to discourse, is the source of parley, parler, parlare, parole, parola, as fabulari is of hablar. See Roquefort Gloss. Romane in *parleira*, ets.

prophwyd, a prophet, not from propheta, but from pro, and pwyd, passing; eglwys, a church, not from ecclesia, but from eg, open, and glwys, holy.

Presen and present, the time *present*, are not from that Latin source, but are from pres, quick.

Plas, a palace, is not referred to palatium, but to pla and as, and the uncontracted form, palas, is kept out of sight.

Awdur, author (or auctor, from augeo, as actor from ago, &c.), is derived from awd, opportunity.

Angel, an angel, is not from angelus, but from the Celtic monosyllables ang and el; and angor, an anchor, is not from anchora, but from ang, and cor, a circle. Both that word and angel are placed out of their alphabetical order, where they can only be found by an accident.

Perthynu, pertinere, is derived from parth, in defiance of the whole analogy of retinere, obtinere, detinere, &c.

Natur and naturiaeth, nature; elefant, an elephant; calan, a calend; prelad, a prelate; deon, a dean; diacon, a deacon; ebysdyl and apostol, an apostle; sacraven, a sacrament; are suppressed in toto. The verb pardynu, to pardon (per-donare, con-donare), is derived in the Cambro-Briton[a] from par and twn, and explained to separate or dismiss; but Owen's Dictionary more cautiously omits the word.

The reader may find in the same work the Celtic roots of olew, olea and oliva, sirig, serica, castell, castellum, pecawd, peccatum, pecadur, peccator, perfaith, perfectus, menestyr, minister, fenestyr, fenestra, planed, planeta, colovn, columna, gevell, gemellus, eluseni and elwysin, eleemosyna, ymherawdyr, imperator, colomen, columba, creawdwr, creator, creadur, creatura, rhewin, ruina, etc. if he can find a relish for such etymology.

The system of this Dictionary has its basis in radicals. It is neither arranged radically like Scapula's, nor yet always alphabetically,

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[a] Vol. 2. p. 205.

but with a confusion of the two methods. By resolving other words into those monosyllables, an air of complete analogy and primeval purity is given to the language; nearly in the same manner as Mr. Bryant resolved everything into his Ammonian tongue by means of his radicals da, phi, omph, pat, etc. etc. The first we meet with is *ab*, a root denoting aptness, celerity, or quickness of motion. Aw, ba, ca, ed, edd, eng, es, fa, fe, lla, ma, mo, no, ov, og, on, os, ur, are others of the alleged radicals, which are used in order to confer upon a dialect of the Roman province Britannia and prefecture Britannia Secunda the shew of that original purity, which if it really retained, it was an Alpheus running through the salt sea and emerging fresh. Yet Dr. Owen rarely quotes any instance of the existence of such words, and still more rarely, of their existence *as radicals*. Aw, ba, ca, ed, edd, eng, fe, lla, mo, no, on, os, ur, are radical words for which no authority is offered, and for aught that appears may be imaginations of the lexicographer. There is authority for fa, fabum, a bean, but none for fa radical, enveloped, or covered. There is, for ma, a place; but none for ma radical, "what is identified as being produced (!), existing, or filling a space." There is none for ov, "elementary, or in an uncombined state;" though there is evidence for its meaning crude, raw. This pretended radical is employed to bolster the pretended word ovydd, of which in its proper place. Og, i. e. occa, a harrow, has authority; but og radical, "what is full of motion, apt to open or expand," has none.

There is none at all for *of*, "what is essential or tending to a beginning;" none for its pretended derivative *ofer*, as "what has power to effect, an instrument," though ofer does mean harness or traces; and none for oferen, instrumentality, though oferen, religion, has authority. All this family of words is printed by Walters with a double f, which Owen has reduced to a single one. *He himself* and his co-editors printed it with the double consonant in Can Tysiliaw, Arch. 1. p. 244; yet two years afterwards he cited it three times in his Dictionary, from that same page, with a single f. That family con tains offeiriad and offeren-wr, a priest; offeren, high-mass; and offrymmiad or offrwm, the *offertory*. All are most palpably taken from

offero, to offer, a compound of fero, to bring. So much for *of*, tending to a beginning, and *ofer*, having power to effect!

British radicals have a great variety of meanings. Ur signifies "extreme, over, superior, essential, pure, sacred, holy, inviolable." Mo means "forward, advanced, present, tending to enlarge, more." They have the ulterior virtue of expressing contraries. Os is what tends to increase, an increment, and it is also a diminutive termination. Edd is "a present time of motion, a going, a moving, a gliding," and it is—"a tranquil [a]state!"

These are extracts from a Dictionary to which the author has pledged his veracity, as "collecting the words of a nearly expiring language." Ed (says he) means what has aptness to act, velocity. "It is doubtful whether it is used in its simple form, at least it is but very seldom." This rather implies that the other supposed radicals do exist in their simple forms. If so, the authorities for all of them, in their several senses, should be furnished, or at least a reference given to them in Mr. Walters's unaffected and copious English-Welsh Dictionary.

Besides the object of gratifying national pride, in respect of language, other views may be discerned in this work, as in the writer's other productions. There is an endeavour to keep out of sight the errors, superstitions, and vile practices of the ancient Britons, recorded by antiquity, and abundantly attested in their own productions; and to write up the sort of masonic fraternization now called Bardism. The article Bardd (Barz) is a short essay to that effect, consisting of bold assertions. The article Derwydd is similar, and contains this remark; "the Bardic system is *attested* to have kept extremely clear from superstition." Attested by whom? Assuredly not by W. Owen, who, at "London, the first day of January, 1801," printed and published that tissue of superstitious belief or imposture called Y Cynveirdd, or Poems of the Primary Bards.

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[a] It is the *alleged* etymon of bedd, a grave, or tomb. That explains to us, why it is to mean the absence of motion as well as the presence of motion.

Amidst the devilry and hocus-pocus of these people, one thing was particularly famous, the pair Ceridwen, or cauldron of Ceridwen. It is hard to lay hold of Dr. Owen's opinion, where those words are concerned. In Taliesin's Mab Gyfreu, in the heading of Kadeir Kerridwen, in the Meib Llyr, in Cuhelyn's second ode, and in Hywel ap Ewein, p. 278, he publishes it with the vowel E, in the prosaic Hanes and the verses annexed to it with an A, but in Cynddelw, p. 230, and in Llywarch ap Llw. p. 290 and 303 with a Y. All this is probably done in conformity with the MSS. of the Poems. It shews the progress of that change which recent Bardists have effected in that word, and which gave rise to the following gloss in the Dictionary. "Cyridwen, the fair procreator, the name of the first woman. *Barddas.*" In his Mabinogi of Taliesin he prints the name Ceridwen, yet he there translates it "the fair procreator," which is a translation from Cyridwen. In the Cambr. Biography, in 1803, Dr. Owen adopts the *Barddas* orthography, and says that "pair Cyridwen may be rendered the cauldron of renovation;" strange enough, considering his etymology of Cyridwen from cyrid, copulation of the sexes, and gwen, a beauty. But in his Dict. (also 1803) in art. *nur* he prints it pair Ceridwen, and translates it "cauldron of Ceridwen," in art. *golcionac* he translates pair Cyridwen yr hen wrac the cauldron of Cyridwen the old hag; while in art. *pair* he has these words, "pair ceridwen, the energy of the smile of love or prolific nature." He is equally anxious and susceptible upon this word pair, a cauldron. In *dadeni* he renders pair dadeni, the "cauldron of renovation," but in *pair* he renders the same words "the instrumentality or alembic of regeneration." Cynddelw has this couplet

O voli *pair* deon pyr dawav
O ddor cor coelig cynnelwav,

which in art *deon* he renders,

Of praising the *command* of God shall I be silent!
Of the refuge of the expected circle will I contemplate,

and in *pyr* he again renders them,

In praising the *cause* of the Lord forward I come,
After the mystery of the circle of foreboding I will conform,

and, thirdly, in *coelig*, he translates the second line,

The ominous covering of the circle will I describe.

Three meanings to one phrase pair Ceridwen, and three totally dissimilar versions (for *meanings* I will not pretend to call them) of one line in Cynddelw! In the Dict. art. *se* the same words are translated by him "the star of magnificent stars," from which, in Gent. Mag. December, 1789, he made "geniusses of bounteous passions." In *Eiddyn* he turns two lines of Taliesin into these two,

I have been a cock grasshopper
Upon the hens in a contact state,

and in *brithwyn* he turns them into these,

I have been a motley white cock,
With the hens in Eiddyn.

A line of Cyvœsi (st. 127) is twice cited as an adage, in *Gweini* and in *Fawd*, and translated with a discrepancy no less monstrous; and in comparing the articles *ardant* and *cyvnovant* the reader will meet with the like. For the reasons previously cited from the Introduction criticism seems not to have been anticipated, and a certain recklessness to have pervaded the composition.

To avert the charge of witchcraft or other wicked and superstitious fancies, an attempt is made to explain away the sense of pair, which was known to Mr. Walters, and old John Davies, in no other sense than that of a cauldron or seething pot, "lebes, cacabus, ahenum;" being perhaps that in which viands, drugs, etc. are prepared, [a]*parantur*. But Owen's Dict. asserts that pair means "union of causes, instrumentalities, or energies, a cause," "a command," and "an energy." All which I nowise believe upon the authorities offered. It would be a great misrepresentation to treat a word as if used *in another sense*, because the application of its sense, by poets, is metaphorical. When Llewelyn said, "I will praise the *cauldron* which produced various beasts and fowls," he not only said cauldron, but he *meant* cauldron, and meant it in metaphor. So when we say the womb of nature we mean womb; and if we did not mean it, *it*

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[a] See Dom Le-Pelletier Dict. Bret. in *Paret*.

would not be a metaphor. I observe that the word *cause* (in art. pair) is used for that which causeth, and in the version from Cynddelw (in pyr) for that which an advocate defends. This is a remarkable lapse, and betrays the hollowness of the system.

There was a fashion, now passing out of date, for men of letters in Wales to profess belief in all the extravagancies of their Chronicles or Bruts, and fabulous traditions. Tysilio having seen[a] in Aurelius Victor or Eutropius, that Asclepiodotus prætorian prefect to Diocletian defeated Allectus, immediately before the landing of Constantius, has impudently converted him first into a prince of Cornwall, and afterwards into a king of all Britannia for ten years. Rowlands in his Mona, instead of treating such trash as it deserved, wrote a grave argument to shew that Asclepiodotus was that British king Bran ap Llyr, concerning whom the most extravagant romances are in existence. In accounting (says Owen's Biography in *Brut*, i. e. Brutus) for the origin of the name of Brut, it is not unreasonable to suppose its having been taken from the name of Prydain, *who was a real character in our history.* Was he indeed? We have yet to learn when he lived, or by whom the history of his reign or that of his father Aedd the Great has been written. He must have flourished some little time back, seeing that Britannia was named after him. The Rev. Peter Roberts translated and commented upon Tysilio, with the most lively faith in his series of Trojan and British kings. One of these by name Moryd, who reigned only 548 years before the Nativity, met with a violent death. "For a terrible and insatiable animal came out of the Irish sea, which devoured man and beast wherever it went. A report concerning this monster was brought to Moryd, and he thereupon set out to encounter it, and did so, but unhappily for himself. For when he had expended all his weapons vainly in the attack, the monster seized and swallowed him." Upon this misfortune of his Britannic Majesty, Mr. Roberts seriously[b] annotates in the words following: "If one could suppose that, by any

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[a] Cæsares, p. 171. Delph. Eutrop. 9. c. 14.

[b] Chronicle of the Kings, p. 62.

accident, a crocodile or alligator could have come on a coast so far North, the description above given would induce a belief, that this monster was of the same species." It is to be lamented, that those who were competent in most respects to have searched out and elucidated the obscure things of their own country and of the rest of the British island, should have preferred to cherish delusions in which a local vanity once delighted, but which more abounding wisdom and civilization have rendered less popular even in those peculiar districts.

The necessity of the case and the impossibility of relying upon others, has urged me to transfuse into my own English several passages from the Welsh, with which language I have little acquaintance. I hope it may not be found that I have thus been led into many errors of material consequence. It would be an admirable undertaking if the learned men of the Welsh counties would send forth a complete Welsh-English Dictionary, containing all the real words now or formerly used in the language and no matter whence derivable, and none but what are real, and in their real orthography; in short, a conversion of Mr. Walters's, with such additions as it admits of, and with the advantage of authorities cited at sufficient length for *each sense of each word*. At present we have no Welsh-English Dictionary entitled to our confidence. The earlier labours in that line may be described as glossaries or vocabularies; while the more recent are adapted to the views of the writers rather than to the advantage of the readers.

CHAP. II.

NAMES OF BRITANNIA; PRYDAIN, BRYTHON, PRYDYN, AND BRITTIA.—THE DUCALEDONS, VECTURIONS, AND SCOTS.—NAMES OF ALBION, ALWION, AND ALBAN.—NAMES OF THE CYMMRY, THE CUMBRIANS, THE CIMBRIANS, AND THE BRIGANTES.—NAMES OF WALES, OF THE GALLI, AND OF THE GALATÆ.—IMPORTANT PASSAGE OF PAUSANIAS.—NAMES OF MICOSMIS, LLOEGYR, ETC.

I. THE names of the Island and its inhabitants are matters belonging to the illusive studies of the etymologists. But they are worthy of a little attention, as connected with the unmasking of British History since the Romans.

The island is termed Prydain by the subsisting remnant of its primitive inhabitants. But that name was, either more anciently, or by tribes of a more southern and easterly position, expressed with a B, a T, and a vowel I, more nearly resembling the sound of the short English I than the Welsh[a] Y, Britann; as appears by the general consent of the Romans, who always called this island (as the most eminent one) Britannia, and it, and Ireland, the Monas, etc. collectively *the Britannias*. Probably they adopted that form from the clans of the South-east.

The Greeks had adopted that of Brettan or Bretan, from the earlier navigators of Marseilles and Phœnicia, and most probably from the dialect of South-western clans, such as the Devonians, Cornu-

[a] Which is our short U, as written in *sun*, or pronounced in *son*.

bians, and Cassiteridians; and they included the people of Ireland under the denomination of Brettanes, and their country under that of the isles Bretanides. In their language we find the traces of the initial P. Marcianus Heracleota in the third century, and Stephanus Byzantinus in the fifth, name the [a] Pretanic Islands; and the latter calls their inhabitants Pretani.

Briton is the word properly (Britannus sometimes) employed by the Romans for a native of *Britannia*, and it agrees with the Welsh noun plural (said to be used in the plural only) Brython, the Britons. It cannot be doubted, that Britannia and Britones are words related to each other, as Ausonia and Ausones, or Arcadia and Arcades are; nor can we be brought to believe that they are terms of an entirely distinct etymology and meaning, and a purely accidental resemblance. However, the name Prydain has been derived, as a word, from pryd, aspect or comeliness, and interpreted *having a comely aspect*, and, as a name, from that of the hero Prydain ap Aedd Mawr, the fabulous founder of the monarchy; whereas the name Brython is derived from brwth, contention, and interpreted warriors. Herein we detect a notable instance of the Neo-British method, and perceive that its arts are not of yesterday.

The Britons were a people whose bodies were painted over with various [b] devices by the process of tattooing, or puncturing the skin and infusing a dark tincture. All the Britanni (saith Cæsar) stain themselves with the herb vitrum, which effects a cœrulean [c] colour.

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[a] Marcian, p. 57. Steph. in *Vocab.* See Eust. in Dion. *v.* 568.

[b] Perlegis exanimes Picto moriente *figuras*. Claudian. They puncture their bodies with pictures of all sorts of various animals. Herodian 3. p. 122.

[c] Seneca in his ludicrous Apocolocyntosis has the following lines on Claudius:

Et cœruleos	Dare Romuleis
Scuta Brigantas	Colla catenis
	Jussit, etc.

in which it is evident that the cœrulean bodies of those Britons, and not their shields, must be in question; but the proper remedy has never been applied. It is, to read

Et cœruleos
Scorta Brigantas,

and the Brigantes who stain *their hides* dark-blue. If we believed, that all we read

But Brith has the meaning of painted, tinted, variegated, or pied of two colours. Cleddyv *brith*-gwaed is a blood-*stained* sword, and brithlas, spotted blue or green, and Brith-gwr is a painted, stained, or parti-coloured man. Merddin, when settled among the Picts of Celyddon, so styled himself, and Taliesin so styles the Pictish marauders. Brithon (to which choice of vowels Cæsar and the other learned Romans, as well as the ancient Latin inscriptions found in this island, bear witness) would thus appear to be the true word, and to have meant in Celtic what Pictus meant in Latin. But if any one, from his faith in the purity and sincerity of modern Cambro-British, should be scandalized by that difference of vowels, it is meet that he should be informed, that *brytho*[b] is *to paint* in the language of Britanny. That debased and corrupted remnant of what once was Celtic, the Bas-Breton dialect, offers farther proof to us upon this head. The [c]Bas-Bretons say not *Prydain* for Britain, but *Breis;* and we shall find that breis (as a word, and not a name) is used by them precisely in the power of brith. Freckles, moles, or other spots upon the skin, are called *breis*, the mottling of red upon the legs of a man who has scorched them near the fire is *breiseli*, and any thing that is half and half, and so, as it were, pie-bald, is breis; half-devout for instance is breis-devode. The Welsh word brith has exactly the same idiom. E. g. brith adnabod, to have a partial knowledge, brith Gristion, a semi-Christian, etc. Pezron, whose authority is of no weight, has nevertheless the merit of [d]surmising the true root of Briton. But it is neither a matter of conjecture nor of authority, but one *of fact*, that the same word means *Britannia* and *variegated* in the Armorican; and that is a fact, which it is not easy to shake off or dispose of.

The custom did not prevail in Gallia Comata when it was entered

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in Ossian about blue shields and blue-shielded hosts was sterling matter, and not suggested to its authors by the verses of Seneca in Buchanan, we should of course be content with the printed text.

[b] Rostrenen Dict. in *Peindre*. [c] See Dom Le Pelletier in *Breis*.

[d] Antiquities of Nations, Book iii. c. 2. Here, as throughout his work, there is matter not to be relied upon.

by the Romans, and the Irish seem to have early abandoned it. On that account the people of this island were at a remote period distinguished among the Celtic nations as a tinged or painted people. But when Cæsar came hither, it no longer retained the force of an epithet; but had become an absolute name-proper, used with scarcely any more reference to its etymon, than the name Brazil now has to the production of brazil wood.

Rome gave her language, civil manners, and mitigated paganism, and, after Constantine, her Christian ordinances, more or less completely to all the British tribes south of Caledonia; and the hideous fashion of painting their bodies disappeared from among them. But it was retained by the savage clans who originally dwelt, or who retired, to the north of the Roman pale into the forests, and are called men of the *Celyddon* or *Woodland Thickets*, but in Latin were expressed Caledonii and their country Sylva Caledonia. It was also adopted by the earliest swarm of those who came into Caledonia from Ireland. These peoples alike rejected the Gods of Rome, and the faith of Jesus, and the manners of civilized man. Those ferocious remnants of the Ante-Roman Britannia were called the Picti, or Painted Men. In the days of Pliny and Agricola, when the conquest of Britain was imperfect, and the Romanization of its manners still more so, that circumstance was not yet peculiar to them alone. It continued to exist in more southerly parts, as well as among them. Therefore they were simply the Caledonii or Caledones. But in the days of [c] Ptolemy, Marcian, Eumenius, and Ammianus, they were Dicalidones, the country Sylva Duecaledonia, and their seas Oceanus Ducaledonius. It cannot reasonably be disputed that the prefix intended by these authors is du, black, because the ravages of the northern clans during the decline of the empire were popularly remembered among the early Welsh as those of y llu *du*, the *black* bands, and their poets described the Picts by the same epithet, "Prophesy unto Dyved's lord the season[d] of the *black* painted-men from

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[c] Ptol. 2. c. 3. Marc. p. 58. Amm. 27. c. 8. Eumenius (where edit. have non dico Caledonum, but MSS. have non Dicaledonum) 6. c. 7.

[d] Gwasgargerd 41.

Man, Brithwyr *du* o Vanaw." For the same reason John of Fordun terms them *vespillones*, i. e. men all in black, mourners at a funeral. Their dark-tinted skins had become a special mark of distinction in the interval of time that elapsed between Agricola and Ptolemy. Eumenius, the panegyrist of Constantius and his son Constantine the Great, is the earliest author who uses *Picti* as the proper name of a nation.

I feel it a strong circumstance of condemnation, as regards the antiquity claimed for the Ossianic poems, that, among their frequent allusions to personal appearance and colour, there is none to that of the Ducaledones and Gwyddel Fichti, and the strange devices which adorned their bodies. The Gwyddel Fichti are called in Irish [c] *Cruithene*, i. e. painted, covered with figures or images.

The Fichti (or Picts) have no apparent etymology for their name in Welsh, Armorican, or Erse. It must therefore be concluded that they received it from the Latin word pictus at a time when this was a Latin island. Merddin ap Morvran, chief bard to Gwenddoleu ap Ceidio a prince of the Picts in the sixth century, says of himself, "I will foretell, before my tribulation, the Britons having the uppermost of the Saxons. 'Tis the inspiration of a painted-man, Brithwr." Since Ficht (i. e. Pictus, or a Pict) and brith (i. e. pictus or qui pingitur) were considered equivalent terms by a dignitary of the Pictish country, there cannot remain much doubt of the Latinity of the former.

Britannia, although weaned by the Romans from the practice which had in distant ages given rise to her name, could not, and would not also relinquish a name which had for immemorial years been used as her absolute Name Proper. Yet, nevertheless, that identical circumstance, which had anciently distinguished her from the remainder of the family of Celts, now operated to distinguish the northern barbarians from the provincial Britons, so far as to dub them Picti.

The Romans very properly abstained from translating Britones

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[c] O'Flaherty Ogygia 3. c. 18.

into Picti and Britannia into Pictavia. It must however be observed, that a tribe of Gauls south of the Loire were termed by them Pictones, les Poictevins, and their district was Pictavia, Poictou. Upon which it may be asked; why, if Ficht be no Celtic word, the term Brithon or Briton was in this instance Latinized, instead of being simply retained? The following is a sufficient answer. Britannia was an ancient proper name, which had long ceased to depend for its use upon its etymology. But the Pictones, being a small tribe, who (as I surmise) had preserved, in the very heart of the unpainted Gauls, and down to the time when the Romans began to be acquainted with Gaulish topography, some vestiges of that horrid fashion, were called Brithon or Brython, by their neighbours; and that, not simply, but significantly and distinctively, as were the Picti of North Britain. If this be so, they should have had some other name of their own. And so they had. That name was Lemones. The now city of Poictiers, which the Romans metamorphosed into Augustoritum Pictonum, was (according to the Gaulish) Lemon and [b]Oppidum Lemonum. Probably the same explanation should be given to the name of the Britanni a still more minute and obscure fraction of the Gauls who lived in the neighbourhood of Montreuil and Hesdin.

Caledonia, or Britain north of the Province, is called in the Welsh of the Bards[c] *Prydyn*, a slight alteration of their Prydain. *Brython* is also used by them to denote some savage tribe who harassed the frontiers of the Cymmry-British kingdom. "Three tribes, men of the woodland covert, in respect of their[d] own qualities, the Gwyddel, the Brython, and the Romans, interrupt our peace and disturb it, and round the boundaries of Prydain her fair dwellings are fields of battle for the sovereignty." These three must be the Irish, the Caledonians, and the Latinizing Britons of the Old Province. Thus it appears, that both Prydain and Brython, although they were

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[b] A. Hirtius de B. Gaul. c. 26.

[c] Tal. Armes Bryd. *v.* 4. Lludd y Mawr. *v.* 76. Awdyl. Vraith. *v.* 2. Tysilio p. 320. Golyddan *v.* 10.

[d] For in respect of *the fact* the Roman provincials were not such. See Veib. Llyr. 67.

general and insular titles, and the only such in the Neo-British tongue or Bardic Welsh, yet retained another force or application *peculiar* to the fierce clans beyond the walls. Those were the clans who continued to paint. Here again truth pierces through disguises. Britannia meant Pictavia, Britones meant Picti, and those who were least willing to own that truth have made themselves instrumental to confirm it. The same circumstance, viz. the revival of the *etymon*, and the special appropriation of the general name to that one part, to which it continued specially applicable, occurs in a far distant quarter; even in Procopius. That historian says,[a] that between *Britain* and Thule lay *Brittia*, inhabited by Angles, Frisians, and Britons. *It was*, he says, *formerly divided by a wall into two parts.* This was Caledonia, which the wall of Antonine had formerly divided into Valentia and Caledonia proper. Being still the seat of the Picts, it was termed Brittia, i. e. y tir brith, Pict-land, and so distinguished from Britain, which had long since been a mere name of geography. We find Prydain as applied to Caledonia modified into Prydyn, *with no apparent meaning* in the change; and we find a Greek (contemporary of Taliesin and Merddin) distinguishing the same district from Britain as Brittia, and *with a manifest meaning*. The latter explains the former.

The etymology of Britain from brith, to paint, tinge, or variegate, is the solution for Pliny's difficulty concerning the Herba Britannica. That herb,[b] which was found in the Trans-Rhenane Germany, near Friesland, was esteemed a specific in various complaints, against the bite of serpents, and against thunder-storms; its flower was called Vibo, which signifies[c] Flower of Proserpine; its leaves and root were black, and the juice was expressed from both. It is supposed by some to be Hydrolapathum Nigrum of modern botany. Pliny "wondered what could occasion the name," inasmuch as the Romans when they so called it had never visited Britannia and were

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[a] De B. Goth. 4. c. 20. [b] Plin. 25. c. 3.

[c] Because Proserpine went from Sicily to Vibo in Calabria to gather flowers, and the women who solemnized her mysteries used to do the like.

ignorant of its vegetable productions; and he was driven into supposing, that it was so called because *it grew near the shores of the ocean in which the British islands were situate!* The real reason was, that the juice of the Herba Britannica imparted a dark tinge, and so it was one of the *brith*-llysiau or Herbs of *Staining*.

The plant used by the Britons was the isatis, glastum, or woad, otherwise called hyalinum or vitrum, the glass-plant, because it is used in making glass. Its colour was somewhat like indigo, which has in great degree superseded the use of it. It is recorded that the ancient Druids had white robes, and the Neo-Druids (on the alleged authority of ancient practice among the Druids, Ovates, and Bards) made use of white, green, and blue robes respectively. But it is evident that as all the Britons painted their bodies it must have been the general custom of all to go nearly naked. So Herodian[a] says, that the North Britons wore no garments, that they might not conceal the paintings on their bodies. The herb woad usually yields a blue tint, but that herb as well as indigo, when partially deoxidated, has been found to yield a fine green. The Britons generally tinted themselves blue, and those who did so may be regarded as the commonalty, whose colour resembled that of the lowest order of the hierarchy. But we find in Ovid that some of the Britons were tinted green,

Sed Scythiam, Cilicesque feros, *viridesque Britannos*,[b] etc.

These should be Britons of a higher order, having the colours of the Ovate. The white skin unpainted of course corresponds with the white robe of the Druid. The robes of the fanatic British women, witches, or priestesses, were black, vestis feralis; and that colour was a third preparation of woad by the application of a greater heat. The British married women (says Pliny[c]) both old and young stain themselves with woad to imitate the colour of Æthiopians, and go naked in their religious ceremonies.

Woad alike produced both their blue and their green dye, and the British name of that plant is glas. In Welsh, Armoric, and Irish,

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[a] Herod. p. 122. [b] Amor. 2. 16. [c] Hist. Nat. 22. c. 1.

the word glas signifies *green*, and in all of them it also signifies *blue*. This is one of the strangest anomalies to be met with in language. Two colours are expressed by the same word, and the predicate must be ascertained from the subject. Glas nef is blue sky, glas goed is green trees, but whether glas gwn be a blue gown or a green one is indeterminate. The origin of this ambiguity is, that glas originally means neither blue nor green, and is not the name of a colour, but (like indigo or saffron) of a plant. Glas is the herb glastum or vitrum, and the Romans probably borrowed the word glastum from the Gauls. Those tribes acquired, from the same source as they did their other arts and improvements, the knowledge of glass-blowing, in which process woad was a chief ingredient; and in that process they used it for a dye as well as for an alkaline salt. Their three orders were decorated with glass gems, called glain, made (as it is supposed) white for the Druid, green for the Ovate, and blue for the Bard. Hence the savage Germans who were themselves ignorant of such arts called that substance by the Gaulish name glas, woad. I do not find that glas means glass in any British or Gaulish dialect; but glaine, which is Welsh for a coloured glass ornament, is Irish[b] both for glass and for woad. The Picts of the sixth century are styled by Taliesin[c] the Glas-Fichti, that is to say the *blue Picts*, or rather the *woad Picts;* the name of that plant in Welsh being either glas or glaiar.

When the Britons had shaken off their Roman masters, they began to cherish again many superstitions of their ancestors; but (except Merddin, who settled among the Ducaledons) the provincial Britons did not openly return to this fashion. They seem however to have valued the recollection of it, and to have resorted to it in some of the most secret and mysterious ceremonies of their occult and strictly Masonic system. In them (as we shall further see, in our progress) they especially honoured one Beli the Great, father of Lludd, and son of *Manogan*. One poem[d] of a fanatical character has these words,

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[b] E. Lhuyd Comp. Vocab. p. 175. [c] Mic Dinbych *v.* 8.

[d] M. Uthyr Pendragon 1. Arch. p. 73.

With my art will I worship thee
Beli giver of victory!
And, oh King Manogan!
Thou shalt preserve the prerogatives
Of Beli's island of honey.

Manogan is a name formed, with *an* the terminative of proper names, from manogi, to bespeckle or cover with spots, and manawg, bespeckled or spotted. The Gododin twice mentions Dyvnwal *Vrych*, i. e. the speckled or spotted, being just equivalent to Dyvnwal *Manogan;* and of the two Belis (i. e. Slaughterers) who reigned in Britain, Dyvnwal was father of the elder, and Manogan of Beli Mawr. The Penrhyn Pedigree[b] omits Manogan and places Dyvnwal in his stead as father of Beli Mawr. Manogan was grandfather of Lludd and likewise of *Cassivellaunus, who fought against Cæsar.* His name is therefore a type and character of the Brithon or Picti anterior to the coming in of the *Cæsareans*, for so the Romans were termed by the natives. Another most obscure poem is the Praise of Lludd the Great. It alludes both to the deluge and to the Saxons, and seems to compare the deliverance of Britain from the latter with the deliverance of the ark from the former. On the day of the Sun, when the elect are about to embark,

"Out of the sacred poems they cry aloud,"
O'r anant oniant,

that which follows. It is a fragment of some old mystic hymn; and its allusions were of a nature so little known to the generality of the Welsh, that it may be questioned whether the transcribers of the MSS. attached any clear meaning to it. That is generally a source of inaccurate transcription. Mr. E. Davies,[c] not seeing its drift, amused himself with printing it in the Hebrew alphabet; and Mr. Stanley

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[b] Ap. Meyrick's Cardiganshire, pr. p. xvi. and Roberts's Early Hist. p. 63. The like is done by Lanquet (cit. Ellis's Fabyan p. 31), and by Enderbie (Cambr. Triumph.), except that the former has corrupted the name into Diwell, and the latter into Dinellus.

[c] Myth. Druid. p. 565.

Faber,[d] with that plastic ingenuity which can form any thing out of any thing, turned it into a Hebrew stanza! I have no sort of doubt but it is pure British, and makes repeated allusion to the etymon of *Britain*; which was well known, although dissembled, by those who invented fables concerning Prydain ap Aedd Mawr. May not those words,[e] with the alteration of no more letters[f] than is necessary to make them words at all, bear some such explanation as the following?

O'r anant oniant,
" O Brith, y Brith oi!
" Neu oes neuedd.
" Brith, y Brithan, hai![g]
" Syched eddi eu roi!"

" Oh painted one, painted one, ho!
" Truly there is a breathless expectation.
" Painted one, Brithan (*the Painted-Man*) hasten!
" Give them dryness of skirts!"

It is a supplication, by those about to embark, in favour of the rest who had no such advantage, and is addressed, in effect, to the King Manogan. Brithan is a title formed upon brith as Manogan is upon manawg, Manawydan upon manawyd, etc. The poem then proceeds

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[d] Alas, my covenant! The covenant it is of Nuh.
The wood of Nuh is my witness.
My covenant is the covenant of the ship besmeared.
My witness, my witness, it is my friend.—Faber Or. Pag. Id. 3. 170.
If Mr. Davies had printed the preceding and following line in Hebrew letters, Mr. Faber would have turned *them* likewise into Hebrew, as Col. Vallancey turned a scene of Plautus into Irish.

[e] Obrithibrithoi
Nuoesnuedi
Brithibrithanhai
Sychediedieuroi.

[f] The interchanges of w, u, and ew; i and y; d, t, and dd; are frequently necessary for the correct reading of the old Welsh MSS.

[g] Compare *v.* 76 of the Priv Gyvarch,
Creawdyr, oro, hai! Hu hai!

to treat of a solemn sacrifice in which the victim was to be a *spotted* or *variegated* beast, buch *vreith;* and vreith is the feminine of brith in mutation. In that instance at least, we may trust, that brith is not the Hebrew word berith, a covenant.

William of Newbridge[c] tells a tale of a boy and girl *whose bodies were entirely green.* They issued from a cavern in East Anglia called the Wolf-Pits, and stated that they came from the land of Saint Martin, where the sun never rose, but there was an everlasting twilight. They ate beans with avidity. This legend in my opinion relates to the secret orgies of the "virides Britanni" and the mysteries of Manogan and Brithan. This land of St. Martin is the same as the subterraneous land, beautiful, but obscure, and not illuminated with the full light of the sun, which Elidyr the Welsh Priest assured Giraldus he had visited, and in which he had learnt a peculiar jargon[d] of words similar to Greek, but by committing a breach of faith with its inmates had lost all clue to discover their marvellous retreat. Mr. Roberts with much justice observes, that a lodge of Druidizing Britons is here spoken of. It may be supposed that those who became manawg in celebrating the rites of Manogan and Beli only underwent superficial *picture,* and not *tincture* or stigmatization with the tattooing needle.

II. In explaining the name Britain, so much use has been made of the Picts, that we had better finish speaking of them, and also mention the Scots. There is no longer any disputing that the Picts proper were Britons, and that their dialect was nearly[e] allied to that of the Cymmry. They were the ancient Caledonians, who kept up the practice of painting or tattooing.

There was another tribe or nation called the Gwyddel Fichti or Irish Picts, who first came over to North Britain (as Tysilio says) in

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[c] W. N. 1. c. 27.

[d] Roberts Pop. Ant. p. 194. If they wanted water they said udor udorum, and if they wanted salt, halgein udorum.

[e] Penuahel, Beda's Pictish for "head of the wall," is pen y wâl. See Beda 1. c. 12. And see Critical Essay on Scotland, by T. Innes, pp. 74-7, and the history and poems of Merddin Wyllt.

the interval between the death of Claudius and arrival of Severus, and of course then spoke a dialect of Erse. They were indebted to Carausius for their final establishment in the island, and became the authors of horrible ravages therein. The Picts in the days of Ammianus were of two races, the *Caledonians* and the *Vecturiones*. But vectoriun is a Latin word formed from vectura, freight, or conveyance in ships, as centurion is from centuria; and it signifies those Picts who came from over seas in boats. These same were the Gwyddel Fichti. Tysilio, probably to reconcile a fabulous deduction of them from the picti Geloni and Agathyrsi with their notoriously Irish origin, pretends that the original Gwyddel Fichti were Scythian men who married Irish women, and that the nation of Scots was the offspring of those nuptial unions.

This romancing has embodied so much of truth, that the Scots of this island[a] were introduced later than the Gwyddel Fichti, and that they were of Irish origin likewise. The two tribes were (as Gildas says) moribus ex parte dissidentes, and visibly distinguished by the latter not staining their bodies; and they were therefore not Gwyddel Picts but simply Gwyddel or (in their own dialect) Gaidheal. Both acted in concert against the Roman province. No earlier mention is made of the Scots, than by Porphyry, as cited in St. Jerome. Ammianus records "the incursions of the Picti and Scoti wild nations" into the Province Britannia, in A. D. 360. We obtain from him three classes of barbarian clans to the north of the Roman dominion, Picti Caledones or Ducaledones, Picti Vecturiones, and Scoti; and these three were all, for the ferocious Britons called Attacotti were Roman subjects. I conceive it to be now a point beyond all discussion, that Scoti stands, both in ancient and middle Latinity, for Irishmen, and Scotia for Ireland; the proofs[b] of it seem to be quite redundant. Gildas (followed by Beda) speaks of those whom he had just before termed Scoti and Picti as the "grassatores Hiberni" and the Picti.

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[a] Beda's statement is more nearly reduced to this point. But it contains one very curious fact. Cum uxores Picti non habentes peterent a Scotis, eâ solum conditione dare consenserunt, ut ubi res veniret in dubium, magis de fœmineâ regum prosapiâ quam de masculinâ sibi regem eligerent; *quod usque hodie apud Pictos constat esse observatum*, 1. c. 1.

[b] A mass of them may be seen in Thomas Messingham's Tractate on the Names of Ireland, a truly learned and convincing disquisition.

The Gwyddel Fichti were Irish, who had come over, by vectura, to assist the Caledones previous to their campaign against Severus, who formed a part of that league of "nations[a] hostile to Britannia," against whom he waged war and built his wall, and who, obtaining a regular settlement from Carausius, embraced the Ducaledon costume of skin, and entirely naturalized themselves in the Celyddon. They likewise adopted the British language, though (as it seems from Beda) not quite exactly. There is yet in existence an old and obscure[b] historical poem on the affairs of the Gwyddel Fichti. But the mere Gwyddel, the Ysgodogion, or Scoti, were subsequent auxiliaries, who came over to join the Ducaledons and the Vecturions in harassing the province, and were increased in force from time to time by fresh armaments, which came over from Ireland for war and plunder, not for settlement. So they kept up their relationship with their mother island, and never chose to tinge their bodies with the glas. Claudian implies that subsisting relationship between the expeditionary Irish and their native isle, when he says of a campaign in Caledonia,

> The frigid North with Pictish blood wax'd hot,
> And drear Ierne mourn'd the slaughter'd Scot,

and he more expressly states it in these lines in which Britannia is personified and made to say,

> Me Stilicho from many a neighbouring horde
> (What time her Scotians all Ierne pour'd)
> Preserv'd, forbade to shun the Pictish fight,
> Or view the Scotic weapons with affright.

Notwithstanding their incursions in 360, it is probably true that king Niul or Nial Naoighiallach, i. e. of the Nine Hostages, who acceded to the Irish monarchy[c] in A. D. 375 (if not in A. D. 379[d]), first gave them a full establishment[e] in Caledonia. They paid tribute to

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[a] Herodian.

[b] See Arch. Myvyr. 1. p. 73. b. line 2 to 19, and the Digressions annexed to this volume.

[c] Keating.

[d] 1^mus annus Nialli Novi-obsidum. Annal. Tigernach. ed. O'Connor, p. 95.

[e] Vit. S. Patric. cit. Keating's Hist. p. 312.

the Irish monarch, of which the amount became a dispute in the reign of Aodh and lifetime of St. Columba. They were called in Ireland the Dailriadha, meaning *the tributary people*, from dail a tribe or district, and riadha, interest, rent, or other reserved payment. Niul the Great, who was the scourge of this island and lord of all the Scoti, kept five hostages for the fidelity of Ireland and four[a] for that of the Dailriadha. His was the master mind which, by giving the energy of union to many factious and divided clans, was enabled to overrun and almost to conquer a great and populous and wealthy province of the Roman empire.

The name Scot has been variously accounted for. In legend, from one Scota daughter of Pharaoh; and, in etymology, from Scythian, and from scuite, an Erse or Gaelic word for a wanderer. The Scottish writers affect the latter derivation, because it comes out of their own dialect; but that circumstance is really the one which disproves it. For in their own dialect there exists no such name for them as Scot or Scuit, but they term themselves Albannach or Gaidheal. Since, therefore, it was not from themselves that they received this appellation of wanderers, it must have been from their British neighbours. But no such word as scuite appears in the Celtic of South Britain. In the latter, the Irish were termed Gwyddel, woodlanders, from gwydd, trees or shrubs (which in Gaelic is expressed Gaidheal, and derived by their grammarians from gad, branches or twigs), Caledonia was termed Celyddon, coverts or thickets of wood, and the tribes who inhabited such thickets Celtiaid (Celts) or men of the covert. In exact analogy to those three phrases, the Welsh, in the earlier half of the 12th century, are found to apply the names Ysgodogion[b] and Ysgotiaid, inhabitants of the woods, from ysgawd, shade, to the Scots, and that of Ysgot-iaith to the Gaelic language; for the Welsh word Gwyddel (by which title, slightly varied, the Scots of Albany *called themselves*) is more pecu-

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[a] Keating ibid. p. 318.

[b] Meilyr cit. Owen's Dict. in *Ysgodawg*. And see *Gwyddel* ibid.

liarly applied to the Irish or Scots of Ireland. That the word Scot, a name as ancient in Britannia as the days of Ammianus and Claudian, but unknown either to the Gwyddelians of Erin or to those of Caledonia, was a name bestowed on them by their provincial neighbours, and a truncate form of Ysgot seems to be as fairly made out as most points in the history of language. These various words present us with the strict etymon of *savage*, viz. selvaggio, woodlander. The Attacotti, of whom Honorius formed two legions, were as I suppose the Brithon at y coed, "*bordering on the woodlands.*" The race of the Ducaledonians was nearly destroyed by the Gwyddel Picts, Strathclyde Cymmry, Scots, and Saxons, and that of the Gwyddel Picts or Vecturions was ultimately destroyed by the Ysgotiaid, or its remnants incorporated with their number; while the latter remain under the denomination of Highlanders.

III. Seeing that Britain was a title which signified *the painted*, this island must at a remote period have had, as Pictavia more lately had, some other name more entirely proper to itself, and which the epithetic name superseded and partly abolished. And in fact it had so, for that name is preserved to us. The Aristotelian author[a] de Mundo says, "in the ocean are the two greatest of islands, both of them called Bretanic, namely Albium (Ἀλβιων) and Ierne, they are greater than those I previously mentioned, and lie beyond the Gauls." Pliny says, "opposite to the Rhine is Britannia, an island famous in the Greek authors and in our own. . . . . Its own name[b] *used to be* Albion (Ἀλβιων), for that of Britannia was applied to all those islands which I am about to enumerate." But Ptolemy employs the Greek diphthong ὀυ (which was sounded nearly or exactly as *u* in Italian, or *oo* in English, and, when compared with the Latin alphabet, often supplied the place of their semivowel *vau*,[c] which latter was about equivalent to our *w* or *wh*) and so writes the name

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[a] C. 3. p. 6. This book is cited by St. Justin in the 2nd century. But whether it be as old as our æra is unknown.

[b] Hist. Nat. 4. c. 30.

[c] Ou-irgilios, Virgil, Ou-arron, Varro, etc. etc.

"Alouion" or "Alwion." Agathemerus[a] spells it as Ptolemy does, and is another good authority. Eustathius observes[b] the two different modes of writing it; "the Bretanids are two islands, Ouernia, and Alouion, or otherwise, Bernia, and Albion." We may fairly presume that Ptolemy was not translating from any Latin authors, but following the orthography of some Greek authorities, more ancient and respectable than the anonymous book *de Mundo*. Avienus, and I believe he only, calls the people after the obsolete name of their island,

> [c] Here the Hibernians dwell, and next to these
> Wide spreads the island of the Albiones.

If Pytheas or any of the early Greeks offered an explanation of this word, it has not come down to us. We generally hear it derived from the Ancient-Gaulish, Cambro-British, and Gaelic word *alp*, a lofty mountain, which is quite unsatisfactory. It is not true, that this is an island composed of lofty mountains, however apt such a description may seem to some antiquary at the foot of Snowdon or Ben Nevis. Besides, neither p nor b is capable of mutation into w; nor is the converse possible.

We must consider the ancient and correct form to be Alouion or (in Welsh) Alwion. That form, being never met with in Latin, must be considered as the Greek form. For, if that great geographer and philosopher, Ptolemy of Alexandria, did not adopt it in obedience to such authorities as Pytheas, Eratosthenes, Posidonius, and Isidorus of Charax, upon what imaginable grounds could he have adopted it? But the authority of the early Greeks, and especially Pytheas of Marseilles, is that upon which this name would entirely depend; for it was gone clean out of use when the Romans came hither. They modified its sound to suit an etymology furnished by their own language, but not existing in the Greek, albus, white. And they harped upon that idea so long, that it [d] was adopted in the island itself while it was

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[a] Geogr. 2. c. 30. [b] Comm. in Dion. 566. [c] Ora Marit. 112.

[d] Tysilio says, that in Brutus's days it was called Alban .... yn Gymraec *y wen ynys*. p. 114.

their province, and it was sometimes described as Ynys Wen, the White Island, by authors subsequent to the Roman government.

It were hard to say, what may have been the import of Alwion. Nor is the wonder great, if men are unable to discuss the etymology of a word which has been an obsolete one nearly 2000 years. The solution of such theorems is hardly to be expected. But it is a mere trifle to the men of now-a-days, and a Vallancey or a Drummond would not be slow of finding some similar sounds in Arabic or Coptic. The following observations are perhaps worth the making. Al[a] is an enhancing and honorific, or perhaps merely formative, prefix and affix, particularly used in British names of places; as the chief town on the Clyde was called Alclyde, and so forth. It was so used, equally, whether the word preceding or following in the composition of the name was a substantive or an adjective. Al-wion therefore by analysis yields the prefix *al*, and *wion*. But, of the British words beginning in composition with *w* scarce an hundredth part really so begin, and they are mostly truncations of gw. We therefore obtain *al*, and either *wion* or *gwion*, but in all probability the latter. There is no such word as wion or as gwion. But, in the highest mysteries of the Neo-Druidism, Gwion is a proper name. He appears to be the [b]Hermes or Mercury whom the ancient Britons revered above all other deities, and who (in the alchemic superstitions) presided over the permutations of nature. The circumstance, that Gwion's name has no assignable etymology, is much in favour of its high antiquity. Hermes is more usually styled in the Neo-British jargon Gwydion ap

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[a] See Owen in *al.*

[b] Gwion son to Gwr-eang (the free-man) of Caer Einion (city of our God) superintended the magical cauldron of the goddess Ceridwen, from the liquor of which he obtained omniscience. He was pursued by that vindictive Fury and hunted by her through nature in a series of transmigrations or metamorphoses, till at last he emerged in the form of *Taliesin* (glorious front); which is a title of the Sun assumed by the chief-priests of the solar mysteries. His wonderful story is told in the prosaic Hanes Taliesin, and is remembered by the people, who call a herb of some virtue Gwion's silver. The contents of the cauldron of Ceridwen are called in the poem Cadeir Taliesin "the stream of Gwion." See Arch. Myvyr. 1. 17. and 38. ibid. p. 173. Davies Myth. 213, 229, 275.

Don, preserver of men, artificer of the rainbow, sublime astrologer, exorcist of evil spirits, and inventor of the hierographic alphabet. The death of Aeddon of Mona is termed his departure from *the Land of*[a] *Gwydion* into the ark, which latter is a Bardic symbol of the grave. Gwlad-Wydion is therefore either Britannia in general or Mona. Before the Romans came, our island was the supreme and appellate seat of the Druidical orgies and doctrine. That sect "worshipped[b] the god Mercury above all others, of him they had the most "numerous idols, they celebrated him as the inventor of all arts, and "they considered him as their guide in all voyages or journeys, and "as having the greatest influence over commerce and pecuniary gain." Of all his forms and attributes that of[c] Mercury the Merchant was the most reverenced throughout Celtica. His idol carried a large bag in its hand, and his Gallic inscriptions ran Mercurio Negotiatori and Mercurio Nundinatori; while, in the barbarous Latin of the Cymmry, Mercurius Mercator (or mercedis auctor) could barely recognize himself as [d]Marca Mercedus. In the circumstance of carrying a bag, the Celtic Mercury seems to agree with Gwion, for the latter[e] was termed Gwion Gwd, i. e. Gwion of the Bag,

Gwir a ddywed Gwion Gwd,
Truth speaketh Gwion of the Bag.

Conan and Cadwaladyr are termed by Golyddan "the two generous ones, the two bounteous, of the Land of the Merchant, Gwlad Warthegydd." But the dies Mercurii, Wednesday, is "the day of the Merchant," dydd Gwarthegydd.

Arwyre gwyr cattraeth gan dydd
A'm wledig gwaithvuddig gwarthegydd!
Urien hwn, anwawd ei newydd,
Cyveddail y teyrnedd, a'i govyn rhyvelgar, etc.
Warriors arise to the battle-strand, at dawn of the day
Of my Lord the giver of success the Merchant!
Urien is here, to whom non-praise is unusual, etc.

Since it is nearly certain that Britain was called terra Mercurii,[f] in

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a Arch. 1. p. 70. b Cæsar 6. c. 17.

c See Dom Martin Rel. des Gaulois. 1. 335. 356.

d Arch. 1. p. 23. e Proverbs in Arch. Myvyr. 3. p. 161.

f Arch. 1. 158. ib. 52. Mercury *Gwarthegawg*, i. e. profit-bringer, ib. 64.; for it is certain that Haiarndor is Mercury. The architrave of the temple, mentioned p. 84, note r, exists, and is inscribed Mercurio Sacrum Lucius Tutelus V. S. L. M.

one way, I incline to the belief that Al-wion, Land of Gwion, Gwlad-Wydion, Land of Gwydion, and Gwlad-warthegydd, Land of the Merchant, are all equivalents, meaning the Land of Hermes. The following verses of the Hanes Taliesin are commemorative of the mysterious Gwion.

For the momentary duration of nine months
I was in the belly of the hag Ceridwen.
Erewhile I was Gwion the Little
(Mi a vum gynt Wion Bach)
But Taliesin am I now;

and so also is the verse of his Cyvarch,

Wyv hen, wyv newydd, wyv Gwion,
I am old, I am young, I am Gwion.

The above is nothing more than a conjecture deriving whatever probability it has from analogies of language and history, and freely left for the reader to adopt or reject. But I maintain, as a point of sound criticism, that the very ancient name of this island, of which Pliny speaks as being then obsolete, had been Ἀλουιων and not Albion.

Since Alwion (and not Albion) was the name which this island bore, long before the Romans had seen it, it follows that Alba, and Albainn, the Gaelic names of North-Britain, Caledonia, or Scotland, which signify the mountainous district or highlands, and *Albanach*, Caledonian or Scottish, (whence that of *Albanact* son of Brutus) are radically distinct words. Translating chlann *Alba*,[a] sons of *Albion*, is part of that easy system which has discredited etymology. *High* or *Alp* is not an appellation derived to the north country from Alwion the ancient appellation of this entire island; but it is a local description of that particular district in which the Gwyddelodd or Gaidheal happened to settle themselves.

IV. The Welsh denominate themselves not Welsh but Cymmry, and sometimes Cymry. Some of their authors give out, that before ever the Romans (those men of yesterday) came hither, the Cymmry were the predominating tribe in the country, and the most ancient and lawful possessors of the whole island, by whom it was originally peopled under the hero-god Hu Gadarn, and from whom the Lloegrian

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[a] Armstrong Dict. in *Alba*. "The oldest name of Britain is *allowed* to have been Albion." Nobody has a right to allow that, of which the truth does not appear.

and Armorican races were descended. In accordance with this, they derive the name of their country, variously spelt Cymmro or Cymmru, from cyn, first or primitive, and bro, a country, or bru, a womb. We do not say cynmardd or cynmyd for cynvardd or cynvyd; and it is not explained to us for what reasons the bru or bro came to be aspirated[a] after cyn. Dr. Owen, in his private edition of Llywarch, printed the words "cyd delai Cynmru," and left his readers to meditate upon them. But afterwards, as Myvyrian[b] editors of that poet, neither he nor his colleagues produced any Cynmru either in the text or in the various readings. As this was not an opinion expressed but an action done, I leave it, without further remark, to be explained by those who can. The derivation in question is well exposed by an author in the Cambro-Briton;[c] but his own pretensions are not more modest. He derives it from cyn, chief, supreme, "*the chief people*, as they confessedly were, for the sovereignty of the island belonged to them." Such pretensions are unreasonable from beginning to end. It is not likely that the inhabitants of the most remote and mountainous recesses of the west, should have been the noblest tribe of all Britannia in the days of Cassivellaunus and in the previous ages. But it is obvious, that as Roman conquest advanced, the last vestiges of native manners and independence would find refuge, and linger, in the more remote and inaccessible districts, least easy to conquer, and least worth the conquering. The like may be said of the archi-druidic station of Anglesea or Mona Taciti. It became such, not as Rowlands would have, because it was an agreeable and commodious island, but because the Romans had banished the accursed superstition from all its more central and accessible stations. Thus much is true; that, if any remains of British blood royal escaped entire subjugation and preserved a partial and tributary dignity, it was in the mountainous districts and minor islands at the west of the province. And when, in the empire's decline, they attempted the renewal of Celtic sovereignty, Cynedda, Cynan, Gwrtheyrn, Cystennin ap Cadwr, etc. etc. emerged from those quarters.

In any other sense, their vast pretensions are remote from the truth. Ancient geography has furnished us with a fair catalogue of

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[a] D and T sometimes are; B and P, it should seem, never.

[b] See Oven's Llyw. p. 138. Myvyr. 1. p. 118.

[c] Vol. 3. p. 205.

British tribes, districts, and towns, under the Roman empire, including those of the western coast. There was no such territory as Cymmro or Cymmru, no such tribe as the Cymmry. There were in our Wales, the Cangians, Cancanians, Monensians, Ordovicians, Demetians, Silurians, etc. But no Cymmry, Cimbri, Cumbri, or Cambri, were ever heard of by Ptolemy, Antoninus, the Notitia, or any Roman author either of history or geography. The antiquity of that appellation is a vain-glorious dream.

That name, like Britain, and indeed like all names in their first origin, was probably an *epithet*. Diodorus[a] says, that "the Britons of Iris (Ireland) were supposed by some to be of the ancient race of Cimmerians, which name the course of time had contracted into *Cimbrians*." Here is first the conjecture, and then the fact on which to build it; and we learn, that the latter name, Cimbrians, was once actually bestowed on the Irish. But it was not their country-name, for according to that they were Iridians. Therefore, it was epithetically, that they were called Cimbrians. We well know, what that epithet meant. Pompeius Festus says, "*robbers* are called *cimbrians* in the Gallic language," and [b]Plutarch, that the Germans call robbers cimbrians. We must lay aside for the moment some prejudices of civilization. The words cimber and latro were not always infamous (latrocinia nullam habent infamiam, quæ extra fines cujusque civitatis[c] fiunt) nor were illustrious Romans ashamed to bear them, as Tillius Cimber, Annius Cimber, and Porcius Latro. Latro[d] was a warrior, which use of the word continued down to Plautus; and chessmen were latrunculi, little warriors.

There were among the barbarous nations two sorts of war. One, that was analogous to ours, *the diplomatic*, waged against some specific nation, for certain alleged grievances or violations of treaty, like that of the Gauls against Cæsar, or of Hengist against the Britons: and another, prædatory, and founded upon no colour of right, but directed against all who might have the ill fortune to lie in their path. It had no sanction, except the precepts of the horrid religion of Mars. Such were the wars of the Picts against Provincial Britain, the Teutons and Cimbrians against Italy, the Gauls against Greece and Asia Minor,

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[a] 5. c. 32. [b] Vit. C. Mar. p. 411. [c] Cæsar B. G. 6. c. 23.
[d] Festus in voc. Varro L. Lat. 6. p. 91. Plaut. Miles. 1. 1. 74.

and the Cilician pirates and Scandinavian sea-kings against all shores. These combatants, with the hand of Ishmael against all men, were latrones rather than milites, warriors rather than soldiers. Though by nation they might be Britons, Iridians, or Gauls, they were by practice *cimbrians*. Guerrier, kimper, kimber, says Father Rostrenen[a] in his Breton Dictionary. They were exceeding proud of their own fierceness, rapacity, and cruelty, and made their great boast of them; we must, therefore, not wonder at people having called *themselves* Cimbrians.

Ancient writers, from observing the similarity of savage customs and neglecting the radical distinctions of language, were frequently either entirely confounding or incorrectly distinguishing the Celtic and Teutonic races; and that has made it doubtful to which the Cimbri of C. Marius belonged, and renders many texts of Appian and others equivocal. But these five considerations convince me that they were of the former.

1. The Teutones are only named in connexion with the Cimbri, who accompanied them on their famous expedition. They have no other place in history, and none whatever in the geography of Strabo and Tacitus. We know, what the Romans in their neglect of the Germanic tongues did not, that Teutsch and Deutsch are titles common to all the nations and dialects[b] of that race; and that its meaning is "the Nations," being a word to distinguish that whole family of nations or tribes from the other races, and not one tribe from its fellow. From thence it should follow, that the Cimbri were not a branch of the Dutch stock.

2. There was no distinction in the character and purpose of the united Cimbri and Teutones; both waged a war purely prædatory, and

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[a] Those words, thus spelt, are Latinisms, like the *Cymbry* and *Camber* of St. Tysilio or W. de Mapes.

[b] Claudian, secretary to a Vandal general in the Roman service, seems alone to have been aware of it,

> Invectæ Rhodani Tiberina per ostia classes
> Cinyphiisque ferax Araris successit aristis,
> Teutonicus vomer, Pyrenæique juvenci.—Eutrop. 1. 404.

without knowing or caring upon whom their rage might alight; therefore to call the one *latrones*, which implies that the others were not so, would have been a complete falsehood, unless the word meant "a Celtic robber," or at least "a robber not Teutonic."

3. Plutarch says, that the combined horde was "called by the *common* name of Celto-Scythians," which implies the combination of two distinct races, and distinguishes them correctly.

4. The *Celts* who plundered Delphi under Brennus[a] were termed *Cimbri*. And in that place Appian certainly uses the word Celt with correctness. For those were Gauls, of three Gallic tribes in the Southern[b] part most remote from Germany, viz. the Tectosages, Trocmii, and Tolistobogi.

5. Philemon, cited by [c] Pliny, asserts that the Cimbri in question called the northern ocean Morimarusa which in their language signified *the Dead Sea;* but Mor y Marw even to this day is Welsh for *the Dead Sea.* Their race cannot be doubtful, if Philemon spoke true. Those who set them down for Germans, were deceived by the [d] geographical situation of their feeble remnants.

The character of the ancient Cimbrians agrees with the explanation of that title. Strabo twice terms them "a prædatory and wandering people," and the Cimmerians, whose name Strabo (as well as Diodorus and Plutarch) identifies with theirs, are seldom mentioned but in respect of their migrations, irruptions, and ravages. Herodotus distinguishes[e] the Cimmerians from the Scythæ, as Plutarch does the Celts from the Scythæ in the Cimbro-Teutonic migration. We have therefore no reason to doubt the prevailing opinion of antiquity which identified those two similar names. With the Cimmerians, as well as the Cimbrians, the name was an epithet or superadded title. The appropriate name of those Cimmerians who overran Asia[f] was Trerones.

The ancient Irish had been termed Cimbrians, and had therefore been supposed to be descended from the Cimmerians. It is hardly to

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[a] Appian. Illyr. p. 833.
[b] See Strabo 4. p. 260, etc.
[c] H. N. 4. c. 27.
[d] See Tacit. Germ. c. 37.
[e] Herod. 4. c. 1.
[f] Strabo 1. p. 90.

be thought that any German people gave them such a title. Cymmry is a Welsh title for the Welsh people, and we know that their Saxon neighbours neither gave them that title, nor even so much as adopted it from them, but called them Welshmen. We may therefore be quite satisfied, that the name was in the language of that race to which it was usually and, I believe, exclusively applied; that Festus (confirmed by Rostrenen) was right in saying that it was a Gaulish word for a robber or deprædator; and that Plutarch was wrong in saying it was a German word for the same. The loose and unscrupulous Pezron has asserted "that Kimber[a] or Kimper signifies a warrior in the "Celtic tongue, *and bears the same signification among the Teutones or "Germans.*" This last assertion, which I believe to be false, would probably be explained away, by reference to the words kæmpfer, kampa, cempa, chempho, and kempho, anglicè champions. Cimber is expressly said to have signified *robber;* and those words which correspond with it in modern British are cymmer, taking or capture, cymmer-wr, a man who takes, cymmeryd, to seize. Dr. Owen's Dictionary entirely keeps out of sight all idea of force or rapine, and restricts the idiom of those words to reception of things given or sold. But that of Mr. Walters[b] permits us to know, that cymmeryd means *to take what is not given; to take a town* in war; and *to seize* forcibly, for which he cites Job iii. 6, and might have cited Job xxiv. 3, 1 Sam. viii. 13, 14, Ezek. xxix. 19, 38, 13, etc. etc.

The Cymmry of Britain are unknown to the geography of the island under the Roman Emperors. Wherefore did the country of the Ordovicians, Monensians, Silurians, etc. and that occupied by the Strathclyde Britons or [c]Cumbrians receive the name of Cymmru in the geography of Britannia after the Romans? I believe we must answer that question thus. When they became emancipated from Roman law and discipline, and were once more subject to their Celtic chieftains, they became cymmerwyr, and were distinguished as prædatory clans. That change began to take place in North Wales, about

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[a] Antiquities p. 8. [b] in *seize* and *take*.

[c] Which is only the pronunciation of Cymmrians adapted to the Latin and Saxon alphabets, for the Welsh cym is our cum.

the time when Maximus was emperor here and Cynedda the ancestor of the Gwynethian princes had come over thither from the Isle of Man. They treated the Roman province, as the Gael of Scotland used to treat the Lowlands, and as the Lowland borderers used to treat our northern frontier. By these means they obtained from the civilized Britons the appellation of *the prædatory clans*. They would not, in the outset of their career, have declined it themselves, or considered it any taint upon their martial glory. They were the only clans (unless the Cornubian recesses of the isle contained any similar spirits) in the Roman province, and within the nominal limits of Christianity, to whom it was applicable, and so it was a proper and distinguishing title.

The total silence of ancient history and topography is followed by this curious passage, in which Richard [a] of Cirencester, a monk of the fourteenth century, speaks of certain Cimbrians in South-western Britain. "In this arm of land, which stretches out from the district of the Hedui *(that of Ilchester and Glaston)* and which is intersected by the river Uxella, was situated that of the Cimbrians. It is not equally clear whether those gave unto Wales its modern appellation, or whether the origin of the Cimbrians is more ancient. Their chief towns [b] were Termolus and Artavia. There are seen here the columns which the ancients called those of Hercules, and the isle of Hercules is not far distant. But from the banks of the Uxella river the ridge of mountains called Ocrine extends without interruption, and ends in the promontory *(Lizard)* of the same name. Beyond the Cimbrians, the Carnabians occupied the extreme angle of the island, from whence perhaps Carnubia obtained the name which it even now retains." This is a difficult morsel of geography. Uxella amnis of Ptolemy is

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[a] c. 6. s. 16. He may have taken these names from Neo-British Latinists, such as Melkin of Avallonia or Niniaw of Bangor, or from the Gothic geographers who are referred to by Anonymus Ravennas. I believe his fragmenta quædam a duce quodam Romano consignata, which he consulted for his Itinerarium, are nothing more than the Itinerarium Antonini.

[b] There are names partly similar in Ravennas; "Uxelis, *Vertevia*, Melarnoni, Scadum Nemorum, *Termonin*." 5. p. 107. Gronov.

the æstuary of Bridgewater. Uxella urbs of Ptolemy is Lostwithiel in Cornwall, on the river and above the haven of Fowey. If Richard's Uxella amnis were at Bridgewater, he would declare that Mount Ocrine stretched in continuity from Bridgewater to the Lizard, which it is incredible that he should do. He means to say, from the Fowey river to the Lizard Point. The Damnonii of Richard extended coastwise from Dorset to the Fowey (his Uxella amnis) in our Cornwall. Richard's Uxella urbs (Lostwithiel) was in their territory. No place remains in the great brachium for his Cimbri, but in those North-western parts of Cornwall, where Bodmin, Camelford, Bossiney, etc. are situated; including likewise some part of our North Devon, for it passes doubt that Herculis columnæ and insula Herculea are Herty-point and the isle of Lundy. Stukeley fixes Termolus and Artavia at S. Molton and Tintagel. We may collect thus much from Richard of Cirencester, that, after the decline of the Roman emperors, the marches of Cornwall as well as those of Wales were infested by people who merited the title of Cymmry. The common story is,[a] that Wales and Cornwall were the two portions of the Roman dominion which remained under the local authority of British dynasts. No doubt they were the most imperfectly reclaimed and the earliest to break loose. We find that both the one and the other were decorated with the same epithet of savage praise and civilized abhorrence. Richard, who avowed his ignorance how ancient the Cimbri of the western brachium were, did not hesitate to declare that the name was *a modern one* in Wales. The total disappearance of the South-western Cymmry is capable of explanation. The most violent ebullitions of British independence were Cornish. Arthur was of Cornwall, and came from Tintagel, which was perhaps Artavia Cimbrorum. His party was crushed in the dreadful war of Camlan, commonly thought to have been waged in those parts. The Cornish Constantine's ephemeral reign succeeded; and then no more is heard of South-western Britain in the annals of fame. In those days its Cymmry were swept from the earth. After the destruction of that turbulent people, the

[a] See Warrington's Wales, Rowlands's Mona, etc.

name of Cornwall obtained those more extended limits, which as Richard explains to us it did not possess in the times he is alluding to.

When the Britons of the Celtic tongue had got the upper hand of the provincials, and set to in good earnest to colour and disguise their annals, they did not omit to provide for this most untoward word. But they were not so astute as to say that it was a compound of cyn and bro. They said, that "the country of Cymbry received its name from *Camber*[a] second son of Brutus." That fiction was best adapted to the foreign market, since the natives of Wales did not use *a* and *y* as permutable vowels. Probably foreigners were the only persons whom, at that time, it was possible to deceive on such a point.

The Cymmry were not the only or the first robber-nation in Britannia. The warlike Brigantes were among the strongest tribes of ancient Britain. Their name signifies *a violent depredator*.[b] Brigand, voleur a main armée, *brigand* pl. *briganded*, says Rostrenen. In process of time the Britons became distinguished from this marauding race, as the Lloegrwys of later days were from the Cymmry. Claudius seems hardly to have acknowledged them as part of the nation;

Ille Britannos,
Et cœruleos
Scuta Brigantas.

V. The country which calls itself Cymmro is called by its next neighbours Wales (pays de Galles), a title involving some difficulties, but admitted to be of no remote antiquity. *Gwâl* has been employed by authors of recent date[c] for *Gaul* and as a poetical designation of

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[a] Tysilio p. 117. Roberts p. 33.

[b] See Owen in *Brigant*. Hence brigantine, a piratic vessel, and a brigandine, the armour of a soldier of fortune. The root of this very ancient word is not entirely lost. It exists in *brigh*, wealth or possessions (Gaelic), *prig*, a thief (old cant), and in *brigue*, prensatio, poursuite ardente pour obtenir, *briguer*, prensare, tâcher d'avoir. Richelet.

[c] Owen Dict. in Gwâl.

France, but early Welsh authors do not use it as a proper name, nor do any use it as a name for their own country. The verse in a strange production ascribed to Taliesin, upon which Mr. Walters relied on the other hand, "they shall lose their lands, excepting wild Wallia, ond gwyllt Wallia," can only suffice to shew that the districts retained by the Britons were called Wales *by others*, at an earlier time than some have assigned to that foreign appellation. Because the author, by adding the Latin termination to this name, as to Germania, Asia, homicida, and others, indicates that it was not a Welsh word. It has been generally thought that the remnant of Britannia was so entitled after Cadwallader and his family had renounced their claims upon the whole island; and so totally unknown was the etymology of *Wales* in Wales, that it was derived from a certain Gwala, who is said to have been a daughter of Cadwallader. Foreigners have annexed the same word to the name of the British province of Cerniw, making it Cornu-galles and Cornou-wailles, but such use of it is again equally unknown to the native dialects.

The word of the Anglo-Saxons for a stranger, a person not of their nation, *wealh*, is the word in question. They call the Cymmry Bret-wealhas or British-foreigners, in deference to their long possession of the British monarchy, the Cymmry of Strathclyde or Cumbrians Strathclæd-wealhas, and the Cornish people Cern-wealhas. In the German or High-Dutch the adjective welsch or wälsch expresses *foreign, exotic,* and the Italians are the Welsch or Wälsch. In the Low-Dutch, that part of Gallia Belgica in which the Teutonic is not spoken is Wals-land, and its people the Wallen. The part of Italy (now so termed) which extends from the Alps to the Rubicon was the Cisalpine and afterwards the Togate Gaul. Therefore it seems that the name Wälscher signified a Gaul. By what name did the Germans call the inhabitants of Transalpine or Comate Gaul, before the fifth or sixth century? Doubtless, by that name. Afterwards the Franks transferred their own to it, and the other Germans adopted that change. But the use of the name Wallen in Belgica is a remnant of its general application to every Gaulish country. From which state of the case, I am led to the conviction that the words

Wal, Wealh, Welsch, and Wälsch, were all primarily applied to that extensive family of tribes which we distinguish from the Teutonic towards the West; and that, whenever it obtained the general force of *stranger* or *foreigner*, it has been among such tribes of Teutons as had then little collision with any other description of foreigners. In like manner as the Persian Magi, having been the rankest infidels with whom the early Mahometans had to deal, lent their name (Giaour) to persons not Mahometan of every kind. And, to choose an instance more immediately appropriate, in like manner as the Cambro-Britons extended the use of the word Allman (Alamannus) a German, pl. Ellmyn, Germans, to signify generally *any foreigners*.

If this be so, it is evident enough that Wal and Gaul are one word, and that the former is the regular truncation of Gwal. That remark leads directly to the important question of the appellations Celta or Celtus and Gallus or Galates. Concerning them, there exists a great confusion of authorities and opinions; and the only clear light upon them is to be had from the British tongue. In it,[a] coverts or woodlands are styled *celt* and the wild inhabitants of the woods *celtiaid;* and in the allied dialect of Erse, coilletean signifies woodlands, and coillteach a woodlander. The analogy of Gwyddel, an Irishman, Gaidheal in contraction Gael, an Irishman or Highland Scot, Ysgotiaid, Scots, and Celyddon, Caledonia, all of which words denote woodlanders or woodlands, seems conclusive in favour of that etymology of Celtica and its people the Celtæ. In the same language gwal is interpreted to mean an enclosed agricultural district, a cultivated field, or a garden, and thence gwala, abundance, fullness, sufficiency, and gwalad, order, arrangement. Gal (as well as gwal) means cleared and reclaimed land as opposed to sylvan wilds, tir gal[b] heb anialwch, "a land that is cultivated and without a wilderness." We can perceive that Gallus or Galates and Celta were used by the ancients distinctively, and were only synonymous

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[a] Owen D. in vocabs. Cambro-Briton 1. p. 373. With no disposition to impugn these assertions, but the contrary, I would suggest that one good authority cited gives more satisfaction than many such.

[b] Cit. Owen Dict. in *gal.*

among the vulgar and inaccurate. But, if their meanings are distinct, reason requires us to select for the others that etymon which has such a precise relation of antithesis to celt, viz. gwal or gal. Thus Gallus is a cultivator of cleared lands, and Galates, an orderly or civilized man. There was rarely such a combination of letters in either Greek or Latin as the gamma and the digamma or vau both together preceding a vowel; that is to say, it was not in the genius of their tongues to write Gvallus or Γοναλατης, and therefore they preferred to say Gallus[a] and Galates.

The distinction in question, between the sylvan tribes with martial, nomadic, and venatic habits, and the sedentary and semi-civilized tribes, is said by Dr. Owen (and perhaps rightly) to have conferred upon *gal* its secondary sense of *an enemy*, because the savage people or true Celts regarded them as their enemies. But had he well considered the effect which that gloss upon their language may have on the character of his *Cymmry*, derived forsooth from cyn and bro? That distinction which existed in the Celto-Gallic race, and which accounts for its two distinguishing appellations, did not exist in the Teutonic or Germanic, nor scarce in any other of the Europæan barbarians. For they, until they conquered the Roman empire, continued to follow their savage ways.

A passage of the very first importance in Pausanias shews that the order in which the two names came into use is agreeable to the respective meanings of celt and gwal, and to the order by which barbarism precedes improvement. For, says he, "the practice of calling "them Galatæ came[b] *late* into vogue, and in ancient times they were "called Celti both by themselves and others." Though in probability that practice is older, no earlier instance of it is known to us than[c] occurs in Callimachus. When Cæsar[d] visited Britain the men of Kent "were by far the most humane, and their customs differed but "little from the Gaulish. Most of the people in the interior sowed

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[a] Gaule is merely the Romance Latin, as saule for salix, sault for saltus, etc.

[b] Paus. 1. c. 3.

[c] Temp. Ptolem. Philadelph. So says Spanheim on Hym. Del. 184.

[d] B. Gall. 5. 14.

" no grain, but lived on flesh and milk, and wore skins." The former were a society of the Gaulish or Galatic kind, while the latter were but a degree better than absolute Celts. The transition which had occurred on the continent within the memory of Pausanias's authorities was still incomplete in the island.

As far as regards this particular passage of etymology, the articles celt, gwal, and gal, in Dr. Owen's Dictionary[h] may be consulted with advantage; though the first of those three is not duly authenticated. The languages of ancient Gaul and ancient Britain were described by Agricola as differing only in a slight degree.

VI. The anonymous geographer of Ravenna, who is supposed to have flourished in the 9th century, made use of certain Gothic authors, Athanarid, Eldevald, and Marcomir. Among other things which he cites on their authority is a name of this island otherwise entirely unknown to me, Micosmis or Micosmi. It does not appear with certainty, whether he cites the Goths as saying that the Greeks so called it, or whether Græcorum is only an erroneous reading for *Gothorum*. In *L.* 1. p. 6. he says Græcorum philosophi quasi Micosmin appellant, and in *L.* 5. p. 107. Gothorum philosophi quasi Micosmi appellant. I believe that the former is the case. This barbarous author means to express, that certain Greek philosophers of the Lower Empire denominated Britannia *Microcosmis*, Island of the Microcosm or Little World. We perceive that the revolution which changed the face of Britannia materially altered her geography and topography. The *Cymmry*, i. e. Depredators or Snatchers of Wales, Cumbria, and the Cornish Marches, are not the only people who obtained a new appellation. That bulk of the island which lies south of Humber and east of Severn obtained, in the Post-Roman æra, the title of Lloegyr, and its people, of Lloegrwys; phrases unheard of throughout antiquity. The Lloegrians were chiefly reclaimed to the Latin language and manners, and not less detested by the Cymmry

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[h] As this is going to press the newspapers announce the death of that zealous writer; which the author of these pages regrets, because of the frequent occasion he has to animadvert upon his productions.

than even the Saxons were; and the term was, no doubt, merely one applied to them by the tribes of the Celtic tongue in no friendly spirit, and not one employed by themselves. Lloegyr signifies[d] the Staggering Calf, or the Scampering Calf. The vocabulary contained in the 5th book of Ravennas is a specimen of that ephemeral geography which prevailed in the island, during the strange interval between the Roman empire and the Saxon conquest. The name Gwynedd, Guoienit, or Venedotia, for North Wales, belongs to the geographical vocabulary of that period.

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[d] Llo a calf, and ehegyr, staggering, or precipitate motion. Dr. Owen derives it from lloeg, having a tendency to open or break out, and that again, from llo, what is thrown out, and eg, what is open, plain, or clear; but he is unable to adduce any instances of those words being thus used, or of the first being a word at all. The war-god of the Cymmry was worshipped under the emblem of a Bull, the *Tarw Trin*, therefore the less warlike neighbouring country was *Llo-Ehegyr*.

CAREER OF THE

VICAR OF HUTTON RUDBY,

REPRINTED FROM THE STOCKTON EXAMINER OF JUNE 29, 1878.

On Thursday last were buried at Hutton Rudby the mortal remains of the Rev. R. J. Barlow, a clergyman whose career deserves more than a passing notice, as he had filled the office of Vicar of Rudby for 47 years. He was the youngest son of a well-known Lancashire gentleman, and was educated at Trinity College, Dublin. He obtained the degree of M.A., and eventually became a curate in Belfast. Soon after his appointment a fever of a malignant type broke out amongst the population, and Mr. Barlow became noted for the zeal with which he devoted himself to the sick, both in house-to-house visitation and in the hospital set apart for their reception.

In 1831-2 he obtained, by purchase, the preferment of Hutton Rudby. The cholera, up to that date unknown in England, made its appearance in the village and great terror prevailed. The authorities were paralized; doctors died at their posts; and many fled from their stricken charges, the attendants from the sick, and bearers from the corpses. In this emergency the Vicar of Rudby was not found wanting; he combatted the fears of the fearful, watched by the besides of the dying, ministesed to their wants, and with his own hands helped to bear deserted coffins to the grave. The scourge passed away, health returned to one of the most beautiful villages in Yorkshire, and its heroic Vicar reaped some reward for his labours in the admiration and respect of his flock; but his career of usefulness was not at an end. Hutton Rudby at the time of the Vicar's advent was a parish noted for its neglected condition. Nominally, its population was agricultural, virtually its principal industry was smuggling, and the reputation of the female residents was such that no one would engage them as servants; gradually this state of things somewhat improved. The Vicar had yet much work before him. He found the fine old church in a state of great delapidation, and neglect, damp, unwholesome, and unsightly, within and without. These short comings he set himself to work to replan by having the edifice restored, well warmed, cleaned, and adorned with some pretention to taste.

At that time the Vicar was a man possessing a modest competence, independently of his small stipend, and he used it freely in ameliorating the condition of his poorer parishioners. He was deprived of this auxiliary income by a Chancery suit, commenced 30 years ago, and still unconcluded. This hampered his benevolence, but could not exhaust his indomitable exertions on behalf of the Church. Dissent was prevalent in the parish; all sects were represented by chapels, whilst the attendance at the Church was languid and limited. He had rendered it comfortable and handsome; it remained to him to make it attractive.

The duties of the parish were onerous, comprising one service each Sunday at Rudby, another at one of the two Chapels-of-Ease, Rounton and Middleton, five and four miles distant respectively. A task for a young man provided with a conveyance, a formidable task for one past middle age possessing none. But the Vicar was not daunted. He volunteered a third or evening service at the Parish Church, and for ten years performed the three, walking each Sunday from eight to ten miles between the services, at all seasons and in all weathers. Meanwhile many alterations were made in the Church designed by himself, he being a good mechanic and architect, and at his work he laboured unremittingly.

A Parsonage house was built, half the cost being defrayed from the Vicar's purse. Of late years he has been infirm in health, and about two years ago was stricken with paralysis on his return from performing service in Rudby Church, since which time, whilst retaining his activity of mind, his body has been unable to take part in his unabated benevolence.

It may seem incredible to the readers of the foregoing brief record that its hero still remained the holder of the poor benefice of £200 a-year in the wealthy diocese of York. The reply to all questions on the subject is obvious. The Vicar's benefice was in lay patronage His removal to a richer one would have created no sacerdotal patronage. He served under three Archbishops; one was ignorant that there was such a living at Hutton Rudby. It was not in his gift. Another was indifferent probably for the same reason; the third expressed much sympathy, and after saying that his was the worst case in the diocese, passed him over again and again.

The old Vicar of Rudby has gone to his well-earned rest. He has gained the love of many, and the respect of all. The Church has lost a devoted servant; the world a scund historian, a man of taste in the fine arts, and an accomplished classical scholar.

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BRITANNIA AFTER THE ROMANS,

ETC. ETC.

CHAP. I.

BRITAIN UNDER THE ROMAN EMPERORS.—ELEVATION OF TYRANTS, AND ITS TENDENCY TOWARDS SEPARATION.—CARAUSIUS.—MAXIMUS AND HIS WIFE.—COLONY OF LITTLE BRITAIN IN ARMORICA.—VINDICATION OF ITS HISTORY.—MARCUS.—GRATIANUS MUNICEPS.

Tyrannorum virgultis crescentibus et in immanem sylvam jam jamque erumpentibus, insula nomen Romanum nec tamen morem legemque tenens, quin potius abjiciens, germen suæ plantationis amarissimæ ad Gallias, magnâ comitante satellitum catervâ, ... Maximum mittit.—GILDAS.

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§. 1. THE history of Britain under the Roman empire and before the approach of its dissolution does not contain much controvertible matter. Cæsar's two expeditions exhibit little but what we might have expected from their nature. They were powerful reconnoissances, which sufficed to establish the superiority of Roman over British tactics, and the possibility of a conquest, but were not sufficient to subjugate a numerous and fierce people.

Cæsar imposed upon Cassivellaunus and his subjects an annual tribute payable to the Roman people. But, though he says that he fixed it, he does not state its amount. This imperfect conquest must have raised a great fear among the Britons of a more complete one,

and, being speedily followed by the civil wars, might naturally make them averse to the Cæsarean party. To this cause I refer the embassy of the British kings to Cato, of which John Tzetzes speaks, and erroneously understands it of Cato the Elder, in whose time Britain was wholly unknown to the Romans. "The fame of Cato "(he[a] says) reached even to Britannia, and the kings of the Britons, "desiring to make him their friend, sent to him ambassadors with "coffers of gold." The rest of the story is merely that he declined their gold and promised to them his unbought friendship. This must relate to the hero of Utica. Whether the tribute was ever paid at all, may well be doubted. The lines of Horace

Intactus aut Britannus ut descenderet
Sacrâ catenatus viâ

seem inconsistent with any practical results to Cæsar's victory. It certainly cannot be credited that the Britons continued to remit their tribute during the remainder of his life and during those of Augustus, Tiberius, and Caius. Augustus meditated an invasion of Britain, which Horace esteemed so hazardous that he addressed a prayer to the Antian Fortune to protect him,

Serves iturum Cæsarem in ultimos
Orbis Britannos!

He seems to have reckoned the Britons as completely independent of Augustus as the Parthians were,

præsens divus habebitur
Augustus adjectis Britannis
Imperio gravibusque Persis,

and his words,

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[a] Chiliad. 10. *v.* 648.

Pestemque a populo et principe Cæsare in
Persas atque Britannos
Vestrâ motus aget prece,

clearly shew that Britannia was dehors the empire and not esteemed in any sense a part of it. Those schemes of Augustus, if ever seriously entertained, were never effected. Therefere, when the same poet says to him,

Te belluosus qui remotis
Obstrepit Oceanus Britannis,
Te non paventis funera Galliæ
Duræque tellus audit Iberiæ,

he merely signifies that the ships of Augustus were, by his possession of the Gaulish coasts and havens, masters of the British sea. Tiberius left the island unmolested. And Caius made himself ridiculous by solemnly announcing to the senate and consuls the surrender of Britain, because Adminius an exiled son of King Cynobeline had taken refuge in his court. Cynobeline died in possession of his country.

After his death, Claudius by his generals and in person wrested the greater part of the island from his sons, Caractacus and Togidumnus. His conquests were preserved and extended, though with some vicissitudes of success, during a series of cruel wars in the reigns of Nero, Vespasian, and Domitian. The second capture of Mona by Agricola and his chastisement of the Caledonians gave consistency to the Roman province of Britannia.

The ancient superstition and barbarism of the Britons no longer met with toleration, or found an asylum, except in Ireland, Man, and Caledonia. But, until the breaking up of the empire, they were only formidable in the last-mentioned direction. To ward off attacks from thence, Hadrian and Severus constructed their famous ramparts on

the line from the Solway to the Tyne. The lieutenants of Antoninus Pius took in a larger territory, and constructed a rampart from the Clyde to the Firth of Forth, in order to protect from the incursions of the Brigantes a certain portion of the province then called[b] *the Genunian district*, ἡ Γενουια μοιρα. This attempt at enlargement was not permanently successful, inasmuch as Severus was contented to refortify the line of Hadrian and abandon that of Antonine. The intermediate country was not reconquered till the expedition[c] of Theodosius, who named it Valentia, and then but imperfectly and ephemerally.

From Claudius to Constantine, the arts, language, and civilization of Rome were diffusing themselves over the island. In the days of Trajan and Hadrian, "the Romans occupied (saith[d] Appian) the "choicest portion of Britain and they found that even that was un-"productive," whereas it afterwards became in their hands the most overflowing granary[e] of the West.

From Constantine to Honorius the influence of Christianity was exerted throughout the empire by its rulers. But, in the reign of the

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[b] Pausanias §. c. 43. "Ordovicia (says Richard of Cirencester) with the countries of the Cangians and Carnabians was distinguished by the name of Genania, under the emperors who succeeded Trajan, unless I have been misinformed." c. vi. §. 25. He must have been so; for North Wales lying about 100 miles within the wall of Hadrian, could not possibly have required the more remote rampart of Antonine for her protection. Reason would suggest that Cumberland, whose shores from Carlisle towards Whitehaven were accessible to marauders crossing the Firth of Solway, derived no adequate protection from the first wall, and was the Genunia on account of which the second was built.

[c] After that event, Britannia was styled in official documents Quinque Provinciæ. See Gothofred. de Stat. Pagan. p. 24.

[d] Præf. c. 5.

[e] Ammian. 18. c. 2. Zosim. 3. p. 145. Eunapius in Legat. cit. Vales. in Ammian.

latter, barbarism and heathenism had again raised their heads in defiance of the Roman empire and of the church; and, of those edifices, that, which human ambition had reared and human hands could shake, was broken to pieces.

This was effected in most instances by *conquest* from without, and by the arms of Goths, Franks, Vandals, etc. But in Britain it was effected by *separation*. In the former cases the conquerors embraced the faith and manners of the conquered and lent their ears to the word of God. But, in the latter, the separated province abandoned the religious tenets of the empire and the institutes of civilization.

These extraordinary occurrences were preceded by circumstances tending to a separation; to appreciate which, we must give a moment's notice to the tyrants who sprung up in Britannia.

§. 2. The Roman Empire was an institution founded upon religious imposture and military usurpation. It appears evidently that it was the former, from the Sibylline prophecies put forward in the Æneis and Bucolics of Virgil, the apotheosis of Julius, the atrocious orgies performed to his Manes at the Perusine Altars, his catasterism in the Julian Star, the pretensions of his successor to be an incarnation of the Sun predicted by the Sibyl, (of which the evidences may be seen in his Life by Suetonius and in the Commentaries of Servius) and from the styles of God, such as Majestas, and Divus, not to add Augustus, assumed by all who reigned in the succession of the Cæsars. The very word *Imperator* expresses that the system was one of military usurpation, for it merely means a generalissimo or person holding the highest rank of military command; and the dictatorial extent of its power may be inferred from the verb *impero*.

The imposture of religion was mainly founded on the pretended descent of the Cæsarean family from Æneas and on the destined

restoration of the Æneadæ. But the show of legitimacy came to an end with Nero, the sixth and last of the Æneadæ. He was followed by a long succession of autocrats, who reigned as the Æneadæ had reigned, and were Quasi-Cæsars, proclaimed by the senate or, more usually, by the soldiers, who compelled that body to ratify the acts their acclamation had carried. In the confusion to which such a system gave rise, the purple robe was assumed by many generals to whom the Romans denied the "Imperatorial Majesty," and styled them Tyrants. Not less than thirty such are spoken of, as having sprung up during the reign of Gallienus son of Valerian. It is not very obvious, what constituted *Majestas Imperatoria* (or, literally, *the Deity commanding armies*) and what, a Tyrannus. Whoever assumed the purple, without either occupying the city, or obtaining a formal recognition from the senate, or from the previously recognized and lawful emperor, was liable to be so called. Such recognition afterwards would purge the tyranny; but it was sometimes given deceitfully, or made null on the plea of compulsion, as Carausius, Maximus, and Constantinus experienced.

But the province, whose legions set up a Tyrant, was not accounted rebellious *towards Rome*, nor were the Gauls, Britons, or Spaniards to be esteemed as having shaken off the conquest, and re-established their native commonwealths or monarchies, however they might for the moment obtain a resident sovereign. The Tyrannus was a Roman officer, he arrayed himself in all the Cæsarean insignia, surrounded himself with consuls, a senate, a prætorian prefect and guards, and legions, and in every particular acted, to the best of his means, the part of a just and proper emperor. By the very hypothesis which he maintained, which was admitted within the limits of his district, and which was controverted by the authorities of the

metropolis, the laws and customs of the Roman empire continued in force. Occupying a part, he claimed all, and sought the earliest opportunity of reducing the City into his power.

Nevertheless, it would often happen that he was, in effect, assimilated to the king of a distant kingdom; a large portion of his senators and his military forces being necessarily drawn from the territory which obeyed him.

In process of the Empire's decline, when the Colonies and Municipia were in a decaying state and the legionary garrisons weak, it was natural that the local Tyrannis should become more similar to a national monarchy within its limits, than it previously had used to be. But still, and always, the Tyranni were emperors, not kings, and governed in the name of the Eternal City, and in imitation of her laws and usages.

The magnitude, compactness, naval power, and defensibility of Great Britain, gave to its Imperial Tyrannis, a peculiarly national character, and at all times threatened a more permanent dismember ment to the Empire than the same attempts did in other provinces. The Tyrants who arose successively in Britannia, and of whom as Saint Jerome says "that province was fertile," were paving the way for the restoration of a British kingdom in an ulterior stage of the decay of the Empire.

§. 3. The interval of seventy-six years, from the departure of Bassianus Caracalla from the island and the rise of Carausius, contains nothing to gratify the vanity and exercise the inventive propen sities of the Britons, unless it be the history of Posthumus. And that interval was suppressed by them with an unusual degree of hardihood; for they did not scruple to make Carausius defeat and slay

Son of Lucius Septimius Severus who died A.D. 211.

Bassianus! The same error or misrepresentation occurs in the admirable Gaelic poems Comala and the War of Caros, which make Caracalla and Carausius cotemporary warriors upon the Caledonian border. Whether some common source of error long ago infected both Welsh and Gaelic tradition on this head, or whether Mr. Macpherson took his chronology from Geoffrey of Monmouth, I will not determine.

Marcus Cassius Posthumus[f] was governor of Gaul under Gallienus, and preceptor to his son; but he was proclaimed by the military in that province, by whom also his young ward was murdered. He reigned at Treves for ten years with great capacity and success, and was much beloved by the nations over whom he presided. His empire extended over Gaul, Spain, and Britannia, as appears[g] from his medals, and was chiefly composed of Celtic materials. Isca is known to have been one of his garrison towns in Britain. He seems to have courted the favour of the barbarous nations by blending their superstitions with the religion of Rome; if we may judge by those coins which represent him with the legends[h] Hercules Magusanus and Hercules Deusoniensis, names of a Gaulish Deity. The British Chronicles take no notice of him or his reign, perhaps from ignorance, or perhaps because he never visited the island, but ruled it as a mere province.

Soon after came the reign of Diocletian which restored some vigour to the Roman state. But that reign was remarkable for an Imperial Tyrannis of which the schismatic purple did, in effect, but robe the person of a King of Great Britain, and perhaps also of Ireland. Carausius (or[i] Carausio) was a Menapian of obscure birth,

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[g] Men. de L'Acad. tom. 30. p. 356.

[h] See Dom Martin Relig. des Gaulois 1. p. 28, 9.

[i] Aur. Vict. Epit. p. 220.

who had risen by his valour to the highest military trusts. In the Cæsars of Aurelius Victor he is termed "a citizen of Menapia;" which is an ambiguous phrase. There was a tribe of Belgians near the Meuse called Menapii in whose country the Romans had a station called Castellum Menapiorum, now Kessel, but there was no city Menapia except that of Wexford in Ireland. I therefore suppose (though in opposition to his biographer Monsieur Genebrier) that Carausius was an Irishman. He invited the Franks to invade Batavia, upon which the Panegyrist Eumenius observes, that they occupied Batavia under the sanction of its *quondam alumnus*. But, for that matter, if he was once a native of the Low Countries, he could never cease to be so. The words in question rather signify a man whose extraction was derived of old from those countries; for Menapia in Wexfordshire was founded by certain of the Geldrian Menapii, and was one of the colonies of Fir-Bolg[j] or Belgians settled in Ireland. The Bruts (for as much as they are worth) admit the meanness of his birth, but maintain that he was of a British family. There seems to be no reason for thinking that Mynyw or St. David's in Pembrokeshire was ever called Menapia. Richard of Cirencester has the following[k] absurd passage, speaking of Menapia in Ireland. "From "hence to the Menapia which is situated in Demetia the distance is "thirty miles, *as Pliny relates*. One of these was the birth-place of "Carausius, but it is uncertain which." Now it so happens, that Pliny does not say a word about either Wexford or St. David's. Menevia is the usual Latin for Mynyw, and the other style, Menapia,

[j] Rich. Cirenc. Hibern. s. 14. p. 217. ed. Dyer. Wood's Prim. Inhab. of Ireland, p. 109. Cæsar mentions that the Belgians, when founding colonies in Britain, always retained the names of their native lands respectively.

[k] Rich. c. 8. s. 14. ed. Dyer.

was a thing got up by modern British chicane, in order to find a place for Carausius in this isle. Before Dr. Stukeley interpreted M. C. on the coins of Carausius Menapiæ cusa and M. S. R. Menapiæ signator rogarum, and inferred the existence of a mint at St. David's, he should have produced some evidence of that place having been called Menapia.

Carausius, having been entrusted with the government of Armorica and the district of Boulogne, and with the Roman fleet in the channel, (by means of which he took from the Barbarian pirates an immense spoil, which he had previously connived at their amassing) "assumed the purple and [l]*occupied the Britannias.*" The proper force of that phrase[m] is to include Ireland. It is on record, that Carausius first established the Gwyddelian Picts, an Irish colony, in North Britain; which circumstance strongly confirms us in thinking he was an Hibernian adventurer.

He retained possession of Britain during five years, by his maritime power and skill, notwithstanding "the superb fleets that "were built and equipped[n] simultaneously in all the rivers" of the Gauls to overwhelm him. After vain endeavours which were defeated by his consummate[o] generalship, the Emperors Diocletian and Maximian came to terms of peace with him. The accounts of his maritime command, piracies, and treachery, as given in the Welsh

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[l] Eutropius 9. c. 21.

[m] Albion ipsi nomen, cum Britanniæ omnes vocarentur. Plin. 4. c. 30. 25. c. 6. 33. c. 6. See Arist. de Mundo p. 6. Dion. Geogr. 566. Catullus 29. *v.* 21. But it may mean the two governments into which Severus divided this island, or the four which Constantine established under the names of Britannia Prima, Secunda, Maxima, and Flavia, and which were known to Eutropius, though not to Carausius. His subsequent words ita Britanniæ *receptæ* rather favour the latter interpretation.

[n] Cl. Mamert. c. 12.

[o] Eutrop. 9. c. 32.

Chronicles, are nearly accurate. Carausius (adds the Brut) planted the Gwyddel Fichti, i. e. Irish Picts, in North Britain; which he probably did, in order to defend himself against hostile clans. The Ossianic poems speak of "the war of Caros," in which Caros the King of Ships, is described as waging war against the non-pict Gael under Oscar, near the wall of Agricola. It is likely enough that some such wars as *the War of Caros* may have occurred; and that, for reasons probably unknown to Macpherson. There is, therefore, some probability that the War of Caros may be an oldish Gaelic poem and not an invention of his. Other considerations preclude us from supposing it even to approach the antiquity it claims. Carausius occupied the Britannias eight years, about the end of which time one of his generals, Allectus, whose visage on the coins seems to bespeak him a Roman, slew Carausius and took possession of the tyrannic purple.

Previously to the death of that illustrious adventurer the Romans had prepared a fresh expedition against the island, under Constantius, who took Boulogne from him by the most extraordinary exertions, and sent forward the prætorian préfect Asclepiodotus into Britain. By him the usurper Allectus (then reigning) was defeated and slain (before the arrival of Constantius) in a battle, the magnitude of which may be conjectured by its bequeathing its name to the Maes-Elect or Field of Allectus, the site of which is not well known. The Bruts affirm, that the Roman legionary troops of the Tyrannus were in garrison at London under one Lilius Gallus at the time of this battle; while Eumenius congratulates Constantius that few Romans had been slain, and that nearly all the bodies had the dress and long red hair of the barbarians. It seems, therefore, that the former contain, in this instance, some spice of authentic history.

The forces of Carausius consisted of one Roman legion, some

cohorts of regular auxiliary troops, and a great number of Franks and other barbarians whom he attracted to his banners, and all of whom (if Eumenius[p] may be credited) he trained to the naval service. The character of Carausius, *as a ruler of Britain*, is not blamed by the Chroniclers, while that of Allectus is condemned for its cruelty; which distinction the Roman panegyrist indirectly confirms, by observing upon the great disaffection of the Britons to the cause of Allectus.

It is evident that Britannia was upon this occasion nearly separated from the Empire and established as an independent monarchy, upon the true basis of its independence, its maritime power. The example set by Carausius would not have wanted imitators, but for a circumstance which soon after occurred to reconcile the island to the Empire.

§ 4. The Emperor Constantius, who had been beloved to veneration in the Gauls, spent the rest of his days in Britannia, where his good qualities were not less appreciated. He had previously married a woman of low birth by name Helena, whom the Britons claim for their countrywoman; but, probably, if his destinies had not led him as a re-conqueror to our shores, no such claim would have been raised. He had also, when stationed at Naissus in Dacia, had a son by her, whom he named Constantine. Upon the death of Constantius, which took place at York in 306, (if not previously) his son was proclaimed Cæsar, and continued attached to and beloved by the island in which he had spent his boyhood, and reaped his great inheritance. There can be no stronger proof of his sentiments than this, that the inflated panegyrists of him and his father scarcely

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[p] Paneg. Constantii c. 12.

lavish more exaggerated praise on them than on Britannia. "Oh fortunate Britannia, and now more fortunate than all other lands, who didst first see Constantine[q] a Cæsar! With good reason did Nature endow thee with every gift of climate and soil, with temperate coldness in winter and heat in summer, harvests so abundant as to suffice for the uses of both Ceres and Bacchus, forests devoid of terrible beasts, lands uninfested by venomous serpents, etc. etc. Ye gods, how is it, that when new deities descend to be worshipped by the whole world, they always come from some distant extremity of the earth? So Mercury from the Nile, whose sources are unknown, so Bacchus from the Indians, etc." The conversion of Constantine to that faith which had found its first protector in his father, and the subsequent establishment of it in the Roman Empire, was another material interruption to the independence of Britannia. It promoted the civilization of the Roman province, and placed a bar of separation between it and the savage heathens, British, Irish, and continental, over whom Carausius[r] had influence. The conversion of king Lucius or Lles son of king Coel and brother of Helen the mother of Constantine, together with the establishment of Christianity and demolition of heathen temples throughout the island under the apostolate of Dyvan and Fagan missionaries from the bishop of Rome, are undoubtedly a fiction. It was a study of the British chroniclers to transfer from their Roman masters, to imagi-

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[q] Quæ Constantinum *Cæsarem* prima vidisti. Eumen. P. Constantin. c. 9. Mr. Roberts, in order to support the fable of Constantine's birth in Britannia, dropped the word Cæsarem, and transcribed the passage thus, quæ Constantinum prima vidisti!! Notes on Tysilio p. 96. His diebus Constantius . . . . . Augustus appellatur . . . . . eodemque tempore Constantinus *Cæsar efficitur*. Aur. Vict. Epit. c. 40.

[r] Diu paruit, ut imperatoria sedes, hæc insula Carausio, *eisque quos in societatem adsciverat tyrannis*. Ric. Cirencest. p. 195. ed. Dyer.

nary native princes, every memorable thing that was done in their country. The same humour has transformed the prefect Asclepiodotus into an *Earl of Cornwall*, and ascribed the conquest of Rome by Constantine the Great to the aid and valour of his three maternal uncles, Llewelyn, Trahaern, and Meurig! But the fiction is commemorative of this important truth, that Constantine and his zealous mother spared no pains in planting the cross upon the island of their affection. It is not improbable that London, York, and Caerleon, may have really been the three places selected for superior bishopricks; and, as regards York, especially probable. His Christian successors appear to have reigned[8] peaceably over their province of Britannia, and to have been unmolested by insular tyrants, until the year 383 in the reign of Theodosius and Gratian. The whole of this interval is filled up by the Welsh with a certain king Eudav or Octavius, a creature of their fancy.

§ 5. In that year the legions revolted, and proclaimed emperor a Roman officer, named Maximus, born in Spain, but settled and married in Britain, where he had highly distinguished himself against the Picts and Scots, and continued to reside in a sort of honourable exile from the courts of Theodosius and Gratian, to the former of whom he had some domestic affinity. Maximus speedily crossed over to the mouths of the Rhine, and marched against Gratian, who was deserted by his African horse, and fled towards the Alps, but was overtaken and slain by Andragathius master of the horse to the new emperor. By these means he became ruler of Britain, the Gauls, and Spain, was recognised by Theodosius, and

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[8] A certain Valentinian perished in an attempt at usurpation. Zosim. 4. 214. Ammianus 28. c. 3.

might have reigned gloriously at Treviri for the remainder of his days, if he had not conceived the dangerous ambition of wresting Italy from young Valentinian. In the fifth year of his reign he was defeated and taken at Aquileia by the officers of Theodosius, and they put him to death without the express sanction of their master. The Cæsar his son, Flavius Victor, who remained in Gaul at the head of other forces, was overpowered and slain by Arbogastes a lieutenant of Theodosius.

Maximus had a wife who accompanied him from Britain, a busy woman, of whose religious intrigues the history of the notorious and powerful Martin of Tours furnishes the following account. "The empress hung day and night on the lips of Martin, and, like that famous Gospel instance, she washed the feet of the saint with her tears and wiped them with her hair. Martin, although no other woman had ever touched him, could not avoid her assiduous nay servile offices. The wealth of the kingdom, the dignity of empire, the diadem and the purple, she regarded not. She would prostrate herself on the ground at the feet of Martin, and was not to be removed from thence. At last she obtained her husband's leave that she alone, in the absence of all their servants, should give an entertainment to Martin; and they united their entreaties to the blessed man, which he could not obstinately persevere in rejecting. The preparations were made by the chaste hands of the empress, she strowed his seat, and placed the table before him, and ministered water to his hands, and offered to him viands which she herself had cooked. While he was seated, she stood motionless at a distance, after the manner of a waiting maid, and displayed in every thing the modesty and humility of a ministering servant. She mixed his drink, and handed it to him. When his meal was

over, she gathered up with some care the crumbs and fragments of the bread he had used, and preferred those leavings to the banquets of the palace. Happy woman! and worthy to be compared for piety with her who came from the ends[t] of the earth to hear Solomon!" This shrewd person, who so well snuffed the points of the wind, is said by the British chronicles to have been Helena, a noble lady of their island, daughter of the same Eudav concerning whom they invented such impudent fictions, and heiress of the then imaginary kingdom of Britain. We might be disposed to disregard entirely this part of their contents, were it not for other matter which they *do not* contain. It seems to be true that Maximus (Macsen Wledig) not only married a British wife, but had by her a progeny, whose fortunes were intimately connected with the destinies of Britannia, *and the total suppression of whose acts and very existence was a main point in the artifice of those fraudulent historians.* Of that, hereafter. The Triads ascribe to her a warlike disposition, and surname her the armipotent or bellipotent.

The armies which Maximus led over into Gaul were chiefly composed of the natives of Britannia whom he enrolled into his service in numbers so great, that the island was never afterwards secure against the irruptions of the Scots, Picts, Saxons, and other marauding or piratical neighbours. Gildas, Tysilio, and the Triadists are all agreed on deploring the drain of British manhood in this revolution of the declining empire, as one of the main sources of ruin to the island.

Could Maximus have restrained his ambition or that of his Roman legions within the limits which Carausius had set to his, or

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[t] Sulp. Sever. Dial. 2. c. 6.

at least if he had abstained from passing the Alps, it is not likely that any power from Rome would have been able to uncrown him. He seems to have been aware that Britannia was the foundation and strength of his monarchy, and to have executed a plan for securing it to himself. Commanding both sides of the channel, he would have held it secure against any effective attack from the Roman marine. Carausius was aware of it, and endeavoured to secure the channel by establishing a fortress and arsenal at Boulogne. But that place was, even in those days, too devoid of natural strength and maritime resources to answer such an end. Carausius consequently lost a garrison and a fleet by the very means which were to have secured his possessions.

The British, though nominally Roman, reign of Carausius, followed by the mildness of the re-conqueror Constantius and perhaps a somewhat incomplete re-conquest, brought back upon the stage some of those un-Romanized and Celtic-tongued chiefs of clans, whom the civilization and discipline of the Quinque Provinciæ had previously kept in an obscure subjection in the remoter districts. Cynedda the founder of the North-Welsh dynasty established himself in Anglesea and the neighbourhood about A. D. 371; and, at the same time with Maximus the emperor or tyrant, one Conan of Meriadawg (now [u]Denbighshire or a part thereof) made his appearance as a British chieftain. Maximus removed him into Gaul with a considerable power of native Britons and settled him in the maritime district called Armorica, the same which in consequence of that memorable settlement has since been termed Lesser Britain and

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[u] Enderbie's Cambria p. 204. Powel's Caradoc Llancarv. p. 2. H. Llwyd Commentariolum p. 14.

Britanny. It was a military colony of some strength in the first instance, soon after reinforced by the remains of the unfortunate armies of Maximus, and, a century later, by the refugees from this invaded and desolated island. Their establishment stood firm, and the fall of Maximus did not compel the emigrants to evacuate their new possessions. But they were not made independent of the Roman system of administration, and the authority of the Roman magistrates was still maintained in the municipalities of that part of Gaul. The naval power of Maximus and the British, in the channel, could never have been shaken with such a formidable outwork as Armorica on its eastern shores. Excellent harbours both deep and shallow, broad lagunes, and impregnable promontories, some of them even insulated at high water, rendered the Armorican Britain an inexpugnable barrier to Britain and the British waters. But he was not wise unto the end.

The Bruts relate that Maximus established Conan in the Gauls by virtue of a pacification between them, and after a war in which Conan had been worsted. It is indeed probable that Maximus acted with a double policy. The same Celtic clans, whom it was most useful both for example and immediate tranquillity to transplant, were those whose language and manners would keep them most distinct from the Romanizing Gauls, and therefore make them the most efficient outwork to Britannia on that side. To bind them more effectually to the mother island, a multitnde of British women were sent over to marry all among these colonists who had not wives; and the mischance of some of those adventurous damsels gave rise to the legend of the eleven thousand virgins. Armorica was no barrier to Britannia as against the Picts or Saxons, whilst, by affording an obvious and natural asylum to those who wished to fly,

it may have weakened her defence against them. But the passionate Cumbrian Gildas, and the Welsh, are unreasonable in their condemnation of Maximus, who did not contemplate his own ruin, and still less that of the Roman empire itself, and actually employed the most vigorous means in his power to secure and civilize the island.

This whole passage in the history of Maximus has been denied by the modern French writers, and that denial has been taken up by the historian of the Anglo-Saxons. It is said, that the Little Britain was not established in Armorica by him and Conan under him, and by the surviving adventurers in his unfortunate expedition, that no such man as Conan of Meriadawg lived in the fourth century, and that Little Britain was constituted no earlier than the middle of the fifth or beginning of the sixth century, under the auspices of Rhiwallon[v] a princely Briton, who fled from the anarchy and Saxon devastation of his island, in 513 according to most opinions, or in 458 according to Father Lobineau.

The doubts raised upon this subject by Vignier, Vertot, and others of the French, did not arise in fair unbiassed argument. Their desire was to establish, that no distinct sovereignty had existed in the Armorican Gaul previously to the establishment of the Merovingian Franks in that country. By such means they sought to justify the degradation of the Breton kings into counts, the claim of liege homage in lieu of simple homage, and all the series of usurpations which have made Britanny a part of France. There are

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[v] This warrior, who freed the Armoricans from the Danes, was styled by them Rhiwallon Murmaczon, i. e. Mur-Macsen, the Bulwark of Maximus. Alb. Le-Grand, Evêques de Leon p. 268. Britanny, therefore, had previously been settled by Maximus and called by his name, as by Conan's in Wales.

many occasions for condemning the spirit of falsehood in the British chroniclers, but in this instance we need not mistrust the substance of their statement, though a want of accuracy is discernible in several of its particulars.

Gregory[v] of Tours, by his observation, that "ever since the death "of King Clovis (i. e. for about 80 years) the Britons have been "under the power of the Franks, and have been called counts not "kings," implies that Breton kings used to reign anterior to Clovis. Jornandes establishes the fact, by shewing that Riothamus Rex was sovereign of the Britons in Gaul during the reign of Anthemius, who applied for his assistance against Euric the Visigoth. A subterfuge has been found, in supposing that Riothamus Rex, an insular Briton, sailed from hence with 12,000 men at the request of Anthemius. But it is well known that Great Britain had no means of protecting herself, at the time when she is surmised to have lent a helping hand to the Roman. Sidonius bishop of Clermont wrote a letter to [w]Riothamus, complaining that his subjects received and harboured the slaves of the Gaulish farmers, from the context of which it seems that he was the sovereign of a territory and not the captain of a moveable column of mercenaries. It grows into demonstration when compared with his apology[x] for Arvandus, who was accused of giving Euric the following advice, viz: that he should not make peace with the Greek emperor, and that he should attack *the Britons who are situated above the Loire*, for this reason, that Gaul ought to be divided between him and the Burgundians. The inference that Riothamus was from

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[v] Hist. Franc. 4. c. 4. In this island they were still accounted kings; the cross of St. Sampson has an inscription in honour of Juthahel Rex, who was Count (as the Franks would have it) of Britanny in 595.

[w] Sidon. Riothamo suo 1. Ep. 7. p. 14. [x] Sidon. 3. Ep. 9. p. 61.

Great Britain, because his expedition was maritime, is altogether a false one; and the matter has been otherwise misunderstood. He embarked, it is not said whence, with 12,000 men, and *landing from the ocean*[y] *out of his ships* was received into the town of Biturigæ," by which the town of Bourges en Berry, nearly the most central of all Gaul, has been understood! But the people here alluded to are not the Bituriges Cubi or men of Berry, but the Bituriges Vibisci at the æstuary of the Garonne whose capital city was the famous Burdigala. Bourg Sur Mer near Bordeaux (more anciently called, as some suppose, Noviomagus) is perhaps the sea-port which Jornandes terms Biturigæ. Riothamus did not sail from Albion to Gaul, but he embarked[z] in the Morbihan or at Nantes and sailed into the Gironde.

Mr. Turner has not duly considered that affirmative words are here of no value, whatever would have been the value of negative authorities. It is not doubted[a] or disputed, that Rhiwallon and John and Caradoc Vreichbras, and various other chiefs sought refuge on the Continent from the Saxons; and words affirming it to be so are beside the question. They did go to Armorica and, what is more, they went to Britanny, selecting the colony for their asylum when they abandoned the mother country; and it is true, that the Lesser Britain obtained an accession of warlike population and power from the ruin of the Greater. But the case is otherwise, as to the testimonials of Conan and the early kings. They are conclusive in the affirmative, if they cannot be exploded as lies.

If we revert to a subject which we alluded to in the outset, while

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[y] Jornand. c. 45. ed. Muratori.

[z] Therefore Sigebertus need not have wondered to find no account of him in the histories of this island. See Turner Anglos. 1. 257. n. 49. But so far from lashing Geoffrey (as Mr. Turner insinuates) he, or rather his editor Robertus de Torineio, fully admits the truth of Geoffrey's declaration, that his history was nuper de Britannico in Latinum translata. Albert Le-Grand expressly asserts that Riothamus embarked in flat-bottom boats au havre de Morbihan. Câtal. Evêques de Nantes p. 133.

[a] Alii transmarinas regiones dolentes petebant. Beda Hist. 1. 15.

vindicating the antiquity of Bardic poetry, viz: the Ambrosian prophecies, we shall perceive the vanity of arguing, on the authority of a Latin romance, that Meriadoc was "a boy when [b] Arthur and Urien were men." If he was a boy when they were men, then he was a youth when Taliesin was a man, or, at most, a man of Taliesin's own standing. But the poems of that bard repeatedly use Conan's name as the established type of the Armorican kingdom; and they allude to that practice as one of no very recent introduction, terming the then current prophecies of Merddin Ambrose "*the public chief-song* of Cadwallader and Conan," and signifying thereby "the national prophecy that a future king of this island should re-unite Armorica to it." The existence and reign of Saint Solomon (Conan's alleged grandson and successor) is attested by the work of Pauline or Paulinian, published by the Bollandistes in March 12th, an author who is supposed by the best authorities to have been bishop of Leon in 974. And his[c] massacre in 435 at the Merzer Salaun near Ploudiry is commemorated in the very name of that place, viz. Martyrdom of Solomon. It is a wanton violence done to national tradition, to reject all the authorities which treat of Conan and his posterity. Both the Britains had fictitious history; but its character was one quite distinct. It is, at the same time, frivolous to object that Maximus himself did not land in Armorica but in Holland, as if we ascribed any thing more than its main basis of truth to such a vapouring narrative as Tysilio gives of the reign of Maximus. If Maximus did not, Conan did; and, when Maximus perished, the remains of

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[b] Turner Anglos. 2. 212. edit. 4. Meriadoc is a country or district, not a man's name. Sir Meliadus father of the fabulous Sir Trystan of Lionesse and Sir Meriadoc in this production are mere slipslop of the Romancers, ignorant of British history and geography.

[c] Argentrè and Lobineau maintain that it was called from Salaun son of Rhiwallon, an impious and cruel tyrant, who was slain in 874, and certainly not there. Ogeé leans to their opinion. But it is ably refuted by Dom Morice in his great work, Hist. de Bretagne tome 1. p. 54. 619, and rejected without observation by Monsr. Felix Desportes.

his forces which Flavius Victor had commanded settled themselves permanently in the new principality of Conan. Gildas declares that the vast retinue of Maximus[c] never returned. The Bruts both Welsh and Latin, Tysilionic and Nennian, record the transaction, with the collateral circumstance of the emigration of the Ursuline maidens. The primitive bards Merddin Ambrose, Taliesin, Merddin Wyllt, and Golyddan alluded to its notoriety. While the Roman authors Sidonius and Jornandes inform us that the *Britanni* were *supra Ligerim siti* and describe the adventures of their king Riothamus; and Gregory who wrote at Tours about A. D. 590 speaks of a series of their kings anterior to Clovis, which same Clovis was probably acquainted with Riothamus himself, although he became king of France ten years later than the time when the latter is thought to have died.

There is no ground for scepticism on this topic. At the same time, we must neither overrate the dignity of their earliest breninodd or kings, who were the superiors over many tribes and clans, receiving a precarious obedience from inferior rulers, and whose office would be vacant whenever the turbulence of Celts prevailed over their federal theory; nor yet their independency of the Romans, which Maximus himself did not concede to them, which they wrested from the tyrant Constantinus, which the Roman legate Exsuperantius resumed from them, and which they twice ineffectually set up against Aetius. But after his death and that of the last Valentinian, there remained no authority in the Western empire by which they could be controuled.

§ 6. From the year 388 in which Maximus died to the year 407 in the reign of Honorius and Arcadius, Britannia does not appear to

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[c] Domum nusquam ultra rediit. Gild. Hist. c. XI.

have been[c] disturbed or mutinous. In that year the troops revolted and exalted to the imperial throne a person who is only known to us by the prænomen Marcus. "Finding his manners not[d] conformable to their own" they put him to death, and substituted in his place a certain Gratian (known by the additional appellation of Municeps, i. e. a Provincial, a Roman citizen[e] born in a town of Britain) whom they robed in the purple and surrounded with guards. But they shortly became discontented with him likewise, and slew him. Although their names are barely known to history, this one remark is of moment, that their downfall was no effect of Roman power, and would not have happened the less had Honorius not existed. They were insular tyrants.

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[c] That she was passively transferred to Eugenius and Arbogast and back again to Theodosius is not unlikely; but I know of no authority upon the fact. The Panegyrists of Theodosius in prose and verse do not mention this island as recovered by his exertions.

[d] Zosim. vi. p. 371. [e] Municeps ejusdem insulæ. Orosius vii. c. 40.

CHAP. II.

CONSTANTINUS, CONSTANS, AND GERONTIUS.—REVOLT OF BRITANNIA.—EUGENIUS, SON OF MAXIMUS, FIRST KING.—SYMPTOMS OF RELIGIOUS APOSTASY.—GWRTHEYRN OR VORTIGERN.—HIS TREATY WITH HENGIST, AND MARRIAGE WITH HENGIST'S DAUGHTER.—PROTRACTED REBELLION AND DISASTERS.—BANQUET AND MASSACRE AT THE STONEHENGE.—VINDICATION OF HENGIST AND GWRTHEYRN.—MISFORTUNES AND DEATH OF THE LATTER.

Duxerat Hippodamen audaci Ixionè natus;
Nubigenasque feros positis ex ordine mensis
Arboribus tecto discumbere jusserat antro.
Protenus eversæ turbant convivia mensæ
Certatimque omnes uno ore, arma, arma, loquuntur,
Vina dabant animos, et primâ pocula pugnâ
Missa volant, fragilesque cadi, curvique lebetes.

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§ 1. After Gratian's death, one Constantine, a Roman soldier serving in the ranks (ex infimâ militiâ), was proclaimed emperor by the troops in Britain, upon no better recommendation than the good omen of his name, propter spem nominis. The armies in Gaul acknowledged him, and he went over thither, having taken his son Constans, a monk, out of his monastery, and associated him to the imperial dignity. Constans, with the aid of Gerontius,[a] a British general, conquered Spain from Honorius. So that Constantine was

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[a] This Greek name probably gave rise to the British *Geraint*, or it may be derived from it.

actual sovereign over Britannia, Gaul, and Spain. Constans gave offence to Gerontius, who consequently revolted in Spain, entered Gaul, murdered Constans, set up a young puppet emperor in Spain, and called in the neighbouring barbarians (consisting of Vandals mixed with Suevians and Alanians) to invade Gaul and Britain. Maximus, his nominee in Spain, who was an officer in the troops called Domestici, is said by Olympiodorus[b] to have been the son of Gerontius, and there is no reason to disbelieve him. Though he never put on the purple himself, he probably had some views of domestic ambition. Gerontius marched against Constantine, and besieged him in Arles; but, while so engaged, the generals of Honorius arrived on the same errand, and equally hostile to the rebel Constantine and the double rebel Gerontius. The latter made off towards Spain, but his troops were offended at his want of decision on this occasion, and mutinied against him. They besieged him in his own house, which he, with an Alanian, his devoted friend, his wife Nunychia, and a few slaves, defended so valiantly, that he slew to the number of 300 of the mutineers. At last, his missiles being exhausted, and the house set on fire, he dismissed his slaves, who made their escape, and, having first at their own desire slain his wife and his Alan friend, slew himself. This Briton of gigantic valour had previously, while in the service of Theodosius and Arcadius, made himself conspicuous by the desperation with which, like a knight of romance, single-handed, he attacked a whole army of barbarians before Tomi, and infamous by betraying Thermopylæ to the Goths. Constantine was shortly after taken, and put to death, with his surviving son called Julianus Nobilissimus, in A. D. 411.

[b] Phot. Bibl. p. 58.

Procopius[c] makes the important observation that, when Constantine and his family perished, the Romans did not thereby liberate Britannia, but a succession of tyrants sprung up in that country. The possession of Britannia did not return to Honorius by the death of Constantine, because it had not remained in the hands of that intrusive emperor. Gerontius called in the barbarians to invade Gaul and Britain; and the result was that the[d] people of the island itself, as well as the Armorican Gaul in which the Britons had settled, and certain other Gaulish districts, took up arms to defend themselves and expel the barbarian invaders. Having done so, they proceeded to eject the Roman magistrates and set up a local government of their own, renouncing the Roman empire and its allegiance. Honorius was content to cede what he was unable to defend, and to confirm measures which he was unable to repeal; and he wrote[e] to the different cities of Britannia to commit to them the care of their own safety and the management of their own affairs. "The defec- "tion (saith Zosimus) of Britannia and the Celtic tribes took place "while Constantine was tyrant, and when the barbarians were en- "croaching upon his negligent administration."

Those who revolted against Constantine's reign of anarchy, and to whom Honorius addressed his letters of dismissal, were the Coloniæ and Municipia of the *Romana Insula* (which contained most of the wealth, civilization, and Christianity of the country, and in which the Latin was spoken), and the rural districts dependent upon them. Their legal connexion with the empire was dissolved, and Britannia had then to establish her first separate and insular king since the

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[c] Bell. Vand. 1. c. 2. ed Latin. 1594.

[d] Zosimus, p. 376.

[e] Ibid. p. 381.

days of Cynobeline. But the mastery of affairs was still in the hands of the 33 cities and 59 inferior towns, which contained the bulk of its Roman population. The tribes beyond the Roman pale, or but a little within it, barbarous, or semi-barbarous, in faith, manners, and dialect, were not as yet in possession of this rich and fair territory. Britannia even yet enjoyed the friendly protection of the empire, and twice received from her former sovereign Honorius the assistance of a legion to repel the Scots and Picts, who had passed the wall of Severus. The Roman Coloniæ were invested with the attributes of the mother city, except the imperial dignity, and were governed by magistrates with consular power. When the imperial authority was withdrawn, they would in effect become so many kings; and, since the Celts were as partial to that title, as the Romans were prejudiced against it, would not be long of assuming it. Thus a suffragan body existed, by and out of whom a general ruler might be elected.

§ 2. We should be in total ignorance under whose auspices the separation from Rome was effected, and whether the island enjoyed any central and supreme government at this time, if the Triads did not throw some light upon it. Maximus had been married to a British lady, by whom he had a son Victor, who perished soon after him. It does not appear that his consort ever fell into the hands of his enemies. Probably she retired into the Armorican colony and thence into Britannia. His brother Marcellinus and his uncle (who were both with him in Gaul) do not appear to have lost their lives. Theodosius[f] did not give his open assent even to the death of Maximus; and the private individuals who joined him and served under his

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[f] Latinus Pacatus c. 44. Theod. et Valent. edicta ann. 389, 390. cit. Vignier Petite Bret. p. 9.

orders suffered no ill usage beyond the deprivation of such new rank and promotion as Maximus had given them. It is therefore not likely that his widow and infant children were pursued or molested. And it also is probable that they remained possessors of considerable wealth, for Maximus[g] was equally remarkable for his strictness in exacting all the claims of his revenue, and for his extreme parsimony in disbursing it, ut thesaurum (as Pacatus says) struat atque defodiat.

Maximus, it appears, left a son, who grew up in Britannia, took a prominent part in the revolt of the island, and was elevated to the rank of king when the Britons shook off the domination of Constantinus and were manumitted by Honorius. He was styled Owain Finddu, that is, Owen of the Black Border. The marauders who infested the province, ferocious tribes dwelling in the Ducaledonian Britain, are sometimes spoken of as the Black Tribes, y Llu Ddu. Therefore, Finddu would in effect signify *Defender of the Caledonian Border*. The name which the Cymmry expressed by Ewein, Owain, Ywein, and Ywain, the English by Owen and Ewen, the Picts by Oeng, and the Gael by Eoghann, Aoghann, and Oen, was Eugenius. The country of Tir-Oen in Ireland is terra Eugenii. The Irish priests (says Camden[h]) knew no other Latin for the name, and in ancient records the same author found the Welsh name Owen expressed Eugenius.

The Triads speak of Eugenius so often and so consistently, that I cannot but think they speak on some good foundation. Triad XXI

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[g] Pacatus c. 26, 7. Sulp. Sever. Dial. 3. c. xi.

[h] See Camden's Remaines p. 83. Gough's Camden. 4. p. 439. The Franks had in their language a different but resembling name, written Audoenus in Latin, and Ouen in Romance.

says, " it became an obligation upon the men of Britain to pay 3000 " (talents?) of silver as a yearly tribute to the men of Rome, until " the time of Owain ap *Macsen*[i] Wledig, when he refused that tri- " bute." The fact, that Armorica and its neighbourhood shook off the Roman connexion and laws simultaneously with Britain, affords some farther proof that the peculiar connexion of Armorica with this island has truly been said to be of an origin earlier than the reign of Constantinus, viz. of the time of Maximus. The readiness with which the colonists entered into the views and acts of the parent state favours, on the other hand, the statement that a son of Maximus was the British leader who shook off the superiority of Rome. Armorica was subdued as effectually by Cæsar as the rest of Gaul, and its towns were municipia governed by Roman magistrates, down to the year 410 when they were ejected. Carhaix, the ancient Vorganium, in the heart of that territory which now speaks the Breton language, is remarkable for the splendour of its Roman remains. There is no reason for doubting but the Latin tongue, which diffused itself so completely through the Roman provinces of Gaul, and has degenerated into the Romance and Walloon dialects, was spoken in the whole of Armorica, as it still is in a large portion of that territory over which the Breton sovereigns reigned. It was replaced by the language of the British mountaineers from Meriadawg, and other British Celts who joined them in the succeeding ages. Violence was used to abolish Latinity, when every thing Roman was proscribed and held up to hatred. The formal abolition of the Latin tongue is remembered in a curious legend.[k] It is said, that such of the British

[i] A MS. of the 10th century, supposed to be the oldest Welsh MS., spells this name Maxim. Cambr. Qu. Mag. iv. p. 16. 18.

[k] Addit. Nenn. c. 23. Acts of St. Goueznou cit. Le Baud Hist. Br. p. 37.

colonists of Maximus as had Gaulish wives cut their tongues out, that their children might not learn the Latin language, and that, in memory of that event, the Bretons were formerly called lletewicion, i. e. *half-mute*. I am inclined to hearken to it, so far as this goes, that the mothers and nurses were menaced with such cruelty if they suffered their children to adopt the Gaulish latinity. For some reason or other, it is a fact that the people of Armorica did really obtain that appellation. Æneas of Britanny is termed Æneas *Lledewig* in the Bonedd y Saint.

" Three sovereigns-by-vote of the Isle of Britain (says the 17th Triad) were Caswallawn, Caradawg, and Owain ap Macsen Wledig; that is to say, supremacy was assigned to them by the voice of the country and people, when they *had no right of primogeniture*."[l] Another Triad says, " three conventional (or congregational) monarchs of the Isle of Britain were Prydain . . . . . and Caradawg . . . . and Owain ap Macsen Wledig, when the Cymry resumed the sovereignty from the Roman emperor agreeably to their natural rights. They were called three conventional monarchs, from their rights being conferred upon them by the convention of country and exterior-country within the whole limits of the nation of the Cymry, by holding a convention in every territory, commot, and cantrev in the Isle of Britain and its adjacent islands." The meaning of country and exterior-country is not clearly known. Probably[m] it signifies that certain tribes situated in Valentia, Caledonia, Man, or elsewhere beyond the

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[l] Or, *were not seniors*. Tr. 17. series 3.

[m] It is the cywlad of Psendo-Dyvnwal, tr. 63, 4. In respect of a petty kingdom, it seems to denote all the other petty kingdoms composing the monarchy; but in respect of the monarchy itself, gorwlad and cywlad should be understood of districts outlying and imperfectly united, as the Norman Isles, Man, etc. are to our kingdom.

provincial boundaries, co-operated with the revolted Province in asserting British independence. It may be supposed that power so acquired would be limited in its extent; and other Triads seem to indicate that the Britons made Owain sensible that he was no more than a creature of their will. "Three *supreme servants*[n] of the Isle of Britain, Caradawg, Cawrdav, and Owain ap M. Wledig;" or in another Triad, "Gwyder, Owain ap M. Wledig, and Cawrdav." We may regard[o] as authentic matter the elevation of Owain Finddu. But we are ignorant of the events of his reign, except so far as Roman history throws any light upon the time which followed the commencement of that reign, of which the actual duration is to us indefinite. It must have commenced in or about the year 410. In the year 416 Honorius sent a legion to assist the distressed Provincials, and another in 418, both of which did good service during their sojourn. These last contributions of the Romans towards the preservation of the island they had adorned and civilized, should probably be assigned to the days of King Eugenius. But as the imperial purple and the styles of Cæsar and Augustus were laid aside in Britannia, neither he nor any subsequent sovereign appears in Roman annals.

If we may judge by the only fact which British tradition (as recorded[p] in print) ascribes to him, we have reason to think that the Roman manners of the island and British Christianity declined

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[n] Tr. 41. s. 3. 21. s. 2. The reason added in Tr. 41, that all, from the prince to the slave, were ready to obey them, is an absurdity.

[o] A brief chronicle of 24 pretended kings, founders of the 33 coloniæ, asserts that Peblig, eldest son of Maximus, founded Armorica; that Constantine, his second, reigned in Britannia, and was father of Constans, Ambrosius, and Uthyr, and that Owain was his third son. This modern author has made a wretched attempt to mix up together and reconcile the real history and the extravagancies of Brut Tysilio.

[p] The unprinted Mabinogi of Macsen Wledig may contain others.

rapidly under his auspices, and that he fell away from the God of his father Maximus to the superstitions which had always lurked in the extremities of the island, and perhaps were cherished by his mother.[q] Owain[r] buried the head of Bran ap Llyr the Blessed in the White Hill of London, and, while it remained there, no foreign oppression could come upon the island, etc. But Arthur revealed the head of Bran ap Llyr, because he scorned to keep the island except by his own might. This Bran ap Llyr, mythological father of Caractacus son of Cynobeline, was a wizard in whose cauldron the dead were brought to life.

Hector Boethius gives some information, in the confused and inaccurate style of his own writings and of his northern authorities, in which, notwithstanding its anachronisms and mistakes, we may, I believe, trace some record of Owain. Between the death of Constantinus of Arles, and the times of Vortigern and Hengist, the principal figure is made in his history by one Maximianus. The whole energies of his successful government were directed against the Scots (of whom Boece is the historian) and their allies the Picts. To secure the doubtful support of the Cambri, he married the daughter of one Dunawd, chief of Tegenia, now Tegengl or Flint.[s] And while he governed Britannia the Scots and Picts, whose kings Feargus and Durstus fell before him, were unable to make any head against the Roman province. "Maximianus,[t] Scotorum Pictorumque opibus fractis, ut provinciales Britannos exinde eorum

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[q] She was busy in works of hypocrisy or fanaticism. How far her connexion with Martin argues either orthodoxy or piety will be seen presently, in treating of the saints.

[r] Tr. 53. ser. 3.

[s] See H. Llwyd Comment. p. 88.

[t] Boeth. vii. 122, b.

levaret injuriâ, pacem eis vix petentibus ultro concessit." The history of Maximus had been previously given, in its due place, and with correctness. Maximianus (to whom some acts of Maximus are falsely ascribed) succeeds Constantinus (not immediately, but with the erroneous interpolation of Victorinus's prefecture, which was anterior to the usurpations of Marc, Gratian, and Constantine), and his actions are altogether such as to stamp him Finddu, warden of the black border. At the same time, the derivative proper name Maximianus may well stand for Maximides or ap Maxim. In him, therefore, I am inclined to recognize Eugenius Maximi f. or Owain ap Maxim Wledig. The king of Scots to whom he granted peace after Feargus's death is styled Eugenius, certainly no Gaelic name; and it may be thought, that Eugenius and Maximianus are two names obtained, according to the frequent practice of semi-fabulous histories, by dividing one person into two.

It is manifest that British history has been completely falsified in its *Chronicles*, and that another and more true history was formerly known, which a Nennius, a Mark, and a Tysilio did not think good for our edification, and of which the memory is now lost. The life, acts, and death of Owain Finddu are our prime desideratum. While ignorant of them, we are ignorant of the origins alike of the Post-Roman monarchy in Britain and of the Neo-Druidic heresy. In the suppression of that supremely interesting passage of their history, the British prevaricators laid the foundation of all their figments.

§ 3. After Owain we must turn to the Gwynethians. One hundred and forty-six years before[u] Maelgwn of Mona began to reign over Gwynedd or Venedotia, Cynedda Wledig sailed *south* from

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[u] Appx. Cotton. ad Nenn. p. 116. MS. sæc. 10 in Cambr. Qu. Mag. 4. 23.

the isle of Manau (i. e. into that of Mona) with his eight sons, and there laid the basis of the Gwynethian dynasty. His posterity spread themselves through the western parts of the island, both north and south. Maelgwn's accession to the kingdom of Gwynedd was in 517, and so the dynasty of the princes of Gwynedd began to establish itself about A. D. 371, and grew up in the troublesome times of Maximus and those which followed. This computation upon the 146 years harmonizes with the statement (for which I suppose the Cambrian[x] Biography has some grounds) that Cynedda Wledig died about A. D. 389.

The tabular pedigree in Rowlands[y] allows but two links of descent between Cynedda Wledig and Maelgwn Gwynedd, viz. Einion Urdd and Caswallawn Lawhir, which will not suffice. But it may be collected from another[z] part of his own volume, that two links are dropped in his pedigree. Einion Urdd had a son Owain Danwyn, whose eldest son was Einion Vrenin or the King. This latter Einion must be esteemed the father of Caswallawn, whatever Vaughan[a] of Hengwert may have said to the contrary. He is termed in Latin Anianus rex Scotorum, i. e. Einion Vrenin o Wyddelod. That implies, that he was king of Mona; for Mona was in great measure occupied by Scoti or Gwyddels, whom Caswallawn[b] subsequently expelled by gaining the battle of the Ceryg y Wyddyl, after they had been predominant for 29 years in Mona. Einion "leaving his royalty, came

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[x] Owen Camb. Biography. [y] Mona Ant. p. 163.

[z] Ibid. p. 155. [a] Ap. Gibson's Camden 2. p. 70.

[b] Tr. 49. p. 12. This Gaelic settlement in Mona was once almost as famous as that in Caledonia, and it may be doubted whether it was very effectually extirpated. Golyddan speaking, it is true, in respect of times long anterior to his own, but yet of a time subsequent to Caswallawn the Long-handed, divides the Gwyddel into those of Ireland, Mona, and Scotland, Gwyddyl Iwerddon Môn a Phrydyn.

to Llyn in Gwynedd, where he built a church," and he became a saint. An excessive duration,[c] viz. 74 years, is vulgarly allotted to the reign of Caswallawn, which is another indication of links dropt in the pedigree. The Cambrian Biography will not obtain much authority in this instance. In one place[d] it terms Einion the uncle of Seiriol, and in another place his brother. It also styles him "Einion the king of Lleyn" instead of "king Einion of Lleyn," (which is the meaning of Einion Vrenin o Lleyn) thus converting the seat of his religious retirement into a kingdom.

The next person, after Owain, whose elevation to the monarchy in any way appears was a member of this Celtic family; and hereafter (in treating of Maelgwn) it will be shewn probable, that he was a son of Einion Vrenin and a brother of Caswallawn Lawhir. This was the celebrated Gwrtheyrn Gwynedd, commonly called Vortigern. The name Gwrtheyrn is compouuded of gwr, man, warrior, hero, and teyrn, a sovereign prince. But Gurthigern, as Gildas (who lived not very long after him) and the author of the App. II. Cott. ad Nenn. expressed his name, is formed from gwr in British and tighearn which is the same as teyrn in Erse. Vortigern, as it is written by Beda, Galfridus, and most others, is a combination[e] of bhir, man, and tighearn, both in the Erse. This indifferent and, in one instance, mixt use of two dialects now so completely separated, and the prevalence of the Erse tongue in expressing the name of a prince of North Wales, cannot but recall to our minds that the Cynethian kings of Mona reigned over Gwyddelians, and that Einion Vrenin was Rex Scotorum. Vortigern's accession is supposed to have been almost

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[c] Cambro-Briton 1. p. 247. [d] See Biogr. in Einion and in Seiriol.

[e] Now used as a plural; but anciently as a singular, e. g. bhirean, a dwarf, bhirionn, masculine.

immediately anterior to the arrival of Hengist and Horsa; but it cannot be ascertained who was his predecessor. Perhaps no other king of all Britain may have intervened between him and Owain ap Maxim.

We have now to observe upon the fraudulent spirit of the Bruts. Mr. Turner with his usual sagacity perceived, that their history of Vortigern's accession is a system of facts borrowed from that of Gerontius and substituted. Vortigern plots against the family of Constantinus, pretends to assist his son Constans, who had been a monk, procures his death, usurps the power himself, is pursued by the vengeance of Constantine's friends and connexions, and perishes with his wife in his own house, which is surrounded and set on fire. This important and just remark (which was my motive for reciting the adventures of Gerontius) is the key to much of the remaining history, and may serve towards undeceiving us of several gross delusions. If so, the thanks are not due to me, but to him.

The allegory, or transfer of facts, is not made at random, but is meant to convey bitter allusions to the real acts of Vortigern, whose memory was detested by its authors.

Gerontius invited the Alans and other German Barbarians from over seas to ravage Britain.	Vortigern invited the Saxons into Britain.
Gerontius incurred the contempt of his own followers, and was assailed by them.	Vortigern became despised by the Britons who rebelled against him.
Gerontius, being in his house with his family, slew three hundred of his own warriors.	Vortigern gave a feast, at which he was concerned in slaying a number of noble Britons, which some state precisely at three hundred.

Gerontius did so, in company with a beloved wife, and an Alan barbarian, his devoted friend.	Vortigern was acting in concert with his wife Rowena, and his ally Hengist the Saxon.
Gerontius, his wife, and Alan friend, were destroyed by his own people, by the aid of fire applied to their dwelling.	Vortigern, Rowena, and Hengist perished by the resentment of the Britons, and the two former by fire applied to their dwelling.

Vortigern, in the substitutional language resorted to, is quasi Gerontius. Therefore Vortigern is a traitor to Constans Cæsar the monk, and his murderer, and an usurper of the authority which he had enjoyed. In this manner, the mysticism of the British turned into allegory the alleged adventures of a man whose acts and character they were resolved not to exhibit with fidelity. From that fountain there comes a flood of falsehood. Owain ap Macsen Wledig entirely disappears, and Gwrtheyrn appears as the direct successor, personal enemy, and murderer of the family of Constantinus of Arles. That Roman emperor, dwindled into a Celtic king Cystennin, is made to die peaceably in Britain in possession of all his honours, and having previously remarried himself to a lady of Cirencester, by whom he had two illustrious sons who were rescued in their childhood from the cruelty of Gwrtheyrn, and returned after many years to destroy him, Aurelius Ambrosius, and Uthyr Pendragon. The family of Constantine, a Roman private soldier devoid of merit, against whose imbecile and disastrous administration at Arles all Britain and Armorica rose up to assert independence, perished with him; and if it had not done so, it had not the slightest tie on the British affections. The whole story is a fiction without verisimilitude. But it arose thus. When the Bardic equivocation had turned him into Gerontius, the persons, or rather the

mighty faction, whose vengeance pursued him were, by a continuation of the same lusus, the surviving brethren of Constans the royal monk. Mr. Warrington and other pains-taking historians have been following an ignis fatuus.

§ 4. In fact, when the throne was vacant by the death of Owain or otherwise, he was elevated to that dignity. Instead of being the son of a Roman Emperor, he was the prince of a clan of Cymmry or Western Mountaineers, and belonged to the Cynethian house, which probably claimed a descent from princes who anciently, and before the Romans, had reigned in the island. The decline of civility, Christianity, and Roman manners, during the few years of independence that had elapsed, may be strongly inferred from that circumstance. The remote inhabitants of poor pastures and rugged mountains in the extremity of the island, whom their fellow-countrymen designated as the *Depredators*[c] or *Snatchers*, had made good a pretension, of which they never after lost sight, to rule the whole of that splendid and rich province which had nearly given the world to Maximus. Kent was by far the most civilized part of the island before Julius Cæsar's time, and no part of Britain partook more early and completely of Roman civilization. It can scarcely be supposed that Honorius had so much as a single Cantian subject acquainted with the ancient Celtic. Yet we find a chieftain bearing a Cymraeg name in possession and king of Kent, when Vortigern was king of Britain. The name in Geoffrey is Gorangon and in Nennius Gnoirangon, and, as Nennius uses *oi* for *y*, I suppose his name was Gwyrangon, being the same as that of the founder of Worcester. William of Malmsbury has it Gorongus, a corruption of the same word; while W. de Mapes call him *Gwrgant*,

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[c] Cymmry.

which is evidently but a surname, expressing his station, for it means *the potentate of Kent*. The existence of such a personage as Gwyrangon Gwrgant upon the littus Saxonicum of Britannia is a fact that speaks a volume.

Gildas, unfortunately, had motives for delivering the information he possessed in brief, ill-arranged, and somewhat obscure phrases. The continued molestations of the Picts and Scots brought on a scarcity in this island, amounting to famine. The Britons, in consequence of its pressure, for the first time made a fierce and powerful effort to repel the Caledonian and Irish marauders. Their success was complete. But it was not the result of the superior skill and civilization which their country possessed. In the ruin to which they were reduced, they betook themselves to mountains, caves, and forests, and exterminated their invaders by operations not less savage and desultory than their own. This was the real epoch of the first supremacy of the Cymmry; who by their valour contributed to rescue the country from the savages, and then wrested the government of it from the enfeebled Lloegrians by performing the action of the verb *cymmeryd*. But of these matters we learn nothing from Gildas ap Caw, the Cumbrian or North-Cymmro. The Scoti of Ireland for some time discontinued their attacks, and the Picts of North Britain never (as I understand Gildas[d]) renewed them in earnest after this serious reverse; Picti tunc primum *et deinceps* requieverunt, prædas et contritiones nonnunquam facientes. During this interval of calm the country prospered beyond expectation, but the words in which Gildas de-

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[d] Gildas may extenuate the subsequent outrages of the Picts, in order to depreciate the services of Hengist and the Saxons, and their "magna *ut mentiebantur* discrimina."

scribes its prosperity are inflated and exceeding credibility. Understood of the Cymmry, they may perhaps be true. *They* never grasped so much wealth and power before. The island (he says) enjoyed such an affluence of all resources that the like is not to be found in the memory of any past age, and, together with their greatness and variety, luxury grew up. The complete apostasy of the Britons from Christianity (mentioned by Gildas in his preface), and their lapse into the most extreme depravity, is assigned by him to this interval of good fortune, and the nature of it described by him in violent but indistinct language. In the midst of this licentious exultation, the nation was alarmed by strong rumours of an approaching return of the marauders, and felt themselves as little disposed and as incapable as they had ever been of making any regular and systematic efforts for their own defence. About this time the famous Gwrtheyrn was made king of all Britain, and had to bear the brunt of the new Scotic war, besides Pictish incursions.

The Gwynethian found his country not destitute of resources, but full of alarm and faction and vice, and manifestly unable to defend itself by the use of its own resources. The Prefect of the Gauls, Aetius, was[h] in vain applied to, for his utmost exertions were hardly sufficient to preserve his own provinces from other barbarians. In this emergency it was proposed to do as the Roman emperors had long done, to hire the aid of some of the best and bravest of the barbarian nations, and employ them against the others. This advice, which probably proceeded from Gwrtheyrn, met with the general approbation of his consiliarii. The Saxons were invited upon certain terms, and effectually performed their part of the contract. Gwrtheyrn

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[h] The declamation of Gildas mentions this fact out of its proper order.

appears to have acted with a desire to knit firmly the new alliance, and make it as intimate and sincere as it must be to be useful. He allowed them a settlement in Thanet, and took the daughter of their duke Hengist in marriage. Nothing appears of his acts or councils but what was honest and judicious; unless it were his omitting to compensate Gwyrangon satisfactorily for the cession of Thanet. But a violent faction broke out against the Saxons and Gwrtheyrn's queen, which arose from the general envy of the Britons against the foreigners, and against the favour which they enjoyed and by effective services had merited, and from the resentments of Gwyrangon. The Chronicles add to these causes the enmity of Saint Gwrthevyr and Cyndeyrn,[1] said to have been his sons by a former wife, against their Saxon stepmother; a cause probable in itself, and at the first sight not unworthy of credit. But, when we come to consider the epoch of his death as we must do in treating of his kinsman Maelgwn Gwynedd, and also to examine the fabulous legends of the British saints, we shall find reasons for believing that Gwrtheyrn had no such sons, and that in this point as in all besides the history of his family has been discoloured.

It is said that the primary cause of dispute was, that the Saxons complained of the British not duly furnishing them with supplies, as every hirer of mercenary warriors is bound to do, and as they had stipulated to do monthly, *epimenia* non affluenter sibi contribui. History, being chiefly derived from British sources, speaks of this as a mere pretext. It is equally reasonable to suppose that it was true. The ancient poet Golyddan adverts to it in these phrases,

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[1] Cyn-teyrn, first or chief king. But Latin historians usually call him (as they do Gwrtheyrn) by his Erse name, Catigern, i. e. Cath-tighearn, the war-king.

" Pay, or withhold payment, alike 'tis a refusal to the Germans.
(Taled, gwrthoded, fled i Ellmyn.)
The neediness of the land-owner gave rise to the calumnies."

If they were altogether calumnies, the iniquity of the demand itself would have been a better plea than the inability to meet it. I should suppose that the German auxiliaries were at least as much sinned against as sinning. They considered themselves as defrauded of the just wages of their blood and toil, and did not hold themselves bound to evacuate Thanet, in which their stay was desired by the lawful king, in obedience to the demands of turbulent rebels.

The faction succeeded in dethroning or at least depriving Gwrtheyrn of all power, and setting up a certain Saint Gwrthevyr in his place, and so they commenced a bloody war of questionable justice against the Saxons. It is a curious illustration of national character to see those, who were confessedly unable to repel the incursions of their barbarous neighbours, turning their arms against their own defenders. The natural result was that matters went from bad to worse. Kent or the better part of it passed into the hands of Hengist; and the Britons wearied out by a protracted contest of many years, recalled their king and queen, and a congress was appointed for settling a pacification. Golyddan (though out of his reckoning in supposing that Horsa was then alive) may perhaps be right in supposing that a bonâ fide cession of Thanet as a fief under the king of Britain would even then have satisfied the desires of Hengist. That they were still engaged in " bargaining for Thanet" amounts to an admission that Hengist kept faith with his son-in-law and was not devoid of moderation.

§ 5. By this time the peculiar heathenism of Britannia, founded upon the abolished Druidism of former ages, had made such progress

as to leave merely a cloak of Christianity over its revolting excesses. Already we have a prince of Britain presented to us in the hideous form of a Scandinavian berserkr. When Gwrthevyr Vendigaid[k] waxed wroth in his battles, he would tear up a leafy tree by its roots, and fell his adversaries with no other weapon than that. This was no casual fiction, nor of unascertained import. It was a well-known symptom of the horrible passion brought on by fanaticism among the votaries of Mars, in which they ran amuck with frenzy and were endowed with that excess of strength which the delirious and the mad possess in their paroxysms. When he died of smelling to a poisonous flower, he directed his body to be burnt, and its reliques preserved in the hollow of a brazen statue, and carefully concealed as a palladium against foreign conquest. This is an imitation of the Persian Zoroaster, who left similar directions. The disclosure of Gwrthevyr's bones and ashes was one of the three disclosures which led to the subjugation of Britannia. Though I be persuaded that both he and Cyndeyrn were but imaginary beings and dæmons of the Neo-Druidic polytheism, I may infer from these stories to what principles and doctrines the turbulent Celts of that faction had addicted themselves.

The name Gwrthevyr has enough of difficulty and importance to merit a brief digression. As we have Gwr-theyrn from the Welsh, Gur-thigern from Gildas and the Cottonian appendix, and Vor-tigern from general use, so the Welsh Gwrthevyr is written Vortipore in Gildas, and Vortemir in Beda, Fordun, G. Monmouth, etc. etc. This striking analogy proves that gwr, and not gwrth, is the first element of Gwr-thevyr. The name Vor-temir may be dismissed with the

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[k] Nennius c. 36.

remark that its m is merely the common permutation of m and v which occurs between British and Latin names, as Cadvan, Catamanus, Dyvnaint, Dumnonia, Adav, Adamus. Having got the British gwr and the Erse bhir, (perhaps[l] anciently bhor) the great difficulty is to find for that subject any predicate to which we can refer the Cambro-British *thevyr* and the Gildasian *tipor*. Perhaps we shall not do better with this anomalous name, than by resolving it into Bhir-thuboir, the manly (or mighty) utterer, or giver of effata. The word thubair is found in the conjugation of the irregular verb abair, as *wend* is in that of *go*, *eo* and *fuo* in that of sum. The words and derivative words in Cambro-British corresponding to abair and thubair in Erse are ebru, to utter, ebyr *v.* to utter, ebyr *s.* an utterance, an[m] effatum, a place of utterance[n] or an oracle, ebri *s.* an utterance, passing a word, pebyr, what is uttered, pebyrwr,[o] the utterer. Upon this hypothesis, the name of Vortipore, (if fairly and without disguise rendered into Cambro-British) would have been Gwr-ebyr, instead of Gwr-thevyr, and a synonyme to Pebyr-wr. Had that of his alleged brother Cathtighearn been fairly and honestly transfused into the sister tongue, it would have been Catteyrn, and not Cyndeyrn.

§ 6. The congress for pacification was appointed to be held near Ambri or Ambresbury on Salisbury Plain, a situation sacred in the superstitions of the people. The time fixt was the feast of the Cyntevin or May-day, which was a solemn convention of the heretical hierarchy then existing in Britain, who (like the Druids of ancient

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[l] In these respects the language has, in regard of space, and has had, in regard of time, many variations.

[m] Gorchan Maeld. *v.* 1.

[n] See Meib Llyr *v.* 4.

[o] See Gwyddnau, Can. 1. *v.* 14.

Gaul) used to "assemble[p] at a stated season of the year in a consecrated place." The object was not so much to discuss matters, as to ratify the peace, the grant of land to the Saxons, and the restoration of Gwrtheyrn, by all the most solemn sanctions that the nation then owned. Hengist repaired thither from Kent with a princely retinue, and was there met by the king and the great synod of the nation at a solemn and, no doubt, religious feast, which was to conciliate and fraternize the old and new inhabitants of the isle. The British, it is said, came to the banquet unarmed, but the Saxons, with the privity of the king and queen, sat down to table with concealed knives or daggers called seaxas, and, upon Hengist's exclaiming nemet oure seaxas, they drew upon the carousing Britons and slew them all. A desperate scuffle ensued between the two nations, in which many lives of both were lost, and the Saxons departed leaving the breach irreconcileable. The king and queen escaped the present violence of either party, but the remainder of his life was a struggle for existence under the protection of the foreigners and as an instrument in their hands.

This transaction certainly occurred. It has been[q] unjustly brought into doubt. The memory of it is generally diffused among the British. It is detailed in their Bruts. It is referred to in their triads as a notorious event. And it is alluded to by their Bards in language of dark and mysterious allusion, which proves its reality

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[p] Cæsar, vi. c. 13.

[q] Dr. Lingard ascribes to the British such an account of it as I believe they have nowhere given, and for which he quotes no authority; and then he asks, "can it be necessary to say that many of these pretended events are contradicted by undeniable evidence?" Vol. 1. p. 93. ed. 2.

better than the direct narratives do. The place of it is fixed, and its truth authenticated, by the various towns to whose neighbourhood it is assigned, viz. Ambri or Ambresbury, Caer Caradawg, and Caer Sallawg or Old Sarum, all places that border on the fatal *Plain of the Cymmry*. The site of Caer Sallawg (i. e. The Exposed Station) may, I think, be curiously ascertained by a fable in the Triads, of which the relator probably knew not its force. "Eidiol Gadarn[r] in the plot of Caer Sallawg slew 660 Saxons with a billet of the service-tree, between sunset and dark." It is elsewhere said that he fought with a staff. But why was it of service wood? Old Sarum is the Roman Sorbiodunum, which may signify, and perhaps actually did signify, *the Hill of the Service-tree*. Its names in more modern Latin were Salesberia and Sarisberia, if we combine the two consonants, Sarlesberia, which appellation I conceive to be in like manner derived from arlesbeer, a service-tree. Of three treacherous meetings of Ynys Prydain, "the second was that of the Mount of Caer Caradawg, where[s] the treason of the long knives took place, through the treachery of Gwrtheyrn; that is to say, through his counsel, in league with the Saxons, the nobility of the Cymmry were nearly all slain there." The Plot of the Long Knives, Twyll y cyllyll hirion,[t] is a proverbial name for this affair, such as nations do not readily adopt on fictitious grounds. At their annual kindling of the Coelcerthi[u] or Omen Fires on the last night of October or All Saints Eve, the Welsh mourned from immemorial for the great men slain by Hengist in the plot of long knives. When and why did they first begin to do so? Was it when Nennius the pupil of Samuel Britannus or when Marcus Eremita stated the

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[r] Tr. 60. p. 68.
[s] Tr. 20. p. 61.
[t] See Cambro-Briton 2. 147.
[u] Ibid. and 1. 172.

fact in a Latin book, or Tysilio in a Welsh one, or whenever the first author of this fable (if it were one) invented it? A narrative in a new book, of some alleged old transaction, previously unknown, can hardly produce an annual popular commemoration.

The bard Cuhelyn ap Caw wrote a poem as early as the middle of the 6th century of which this notorious event was the subject.

Scorching[v] the anger of the wolf;
The law of steel is his nature
And his usual mode of judging.
Puissant was Eideol
Ruler of the circumference,
Excelling in wisdom.
The rage of the piratic leader
Directed against the Britons
Was an incomplete achievement.
The custom maliciously resorted to
Was the fair and equal custom of
A solemn convention at a mead feast.

. . . . . .

The reaping (i. e. cutting down) confounded
The honey of the bards,
And rage, their courtesy.

. . . . . .

A battle of direct onset,
A shriek prolonged, loudly uttered,
The secretly concerted act of the ruler.

A more ancient poem than Cuhelyn's and a more obscure one, the Ymarwar Lludd Mawr, refers to the same event in one emphatic line,

"I know when the battle was caused over the wine-feast."

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[v] Arch. Myvyr. 1. 164. Davies Myth. 310.

The Song of the Sons of Llyr, composed about the time of Cadvan's accession, compares the slaughter of the cœnobites of Bangor is y coed by Ethelfrid to that of the British synod by Hengist, which latter it terms,

A battle in our self-defence, over the unjoyous beverage,
A battle against the sons of Llyr, in the oracle of *Hên-Velen*,

that is to say, in the temple of *Belenus the Ancient*, by which name the Neo-Druidists or Apollinares mystici called the god of the sun. Since they who were assailed at the Ebyr Hên-Velen have been termed the sons of *Llyr* (i. e. of *the sea*) and since the head of *Bran* son of *Llyr* (i. e. *the Raven* son of *the Sea*) was consecrated by Owain Finddu as the palladium of the island, I esteem that the turbulent and bloody banquet of *Morach Mor-vran* (signifying *the joy of the raven of the sea*) which is often alluded to as a thing proverbial both for its splendour and its disasters was no other than the banquet of Gwrtheyrn and Hengist. It occurred at a Ban-Gor, or High-Circle, as nearly all the sanctuaries of this island were anciently called. Although the allusions to it are not rare, they have[w] never received any sort of explanation. The Song of the Sons of Llyr, after complaining of the calamities inflicted on the Cymmry by the Roman provincials, Irish, and Caledonians, again reverts to the same bitter recollection, saying,

A battle against the dominion, over the vessels of mead.

The Destiny of Britain by Golyddan belongs to the close of the 7th century, and speaks to this effect;

For the chieftain of the Saxons and their darling
Distant was the journey's end unto Gwrtheyrn Gwynedd,
The joint course of the Germans into emigration.
No man attaineth what the earth will not undo.

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[w] See Evans' Specimens, notes on Owain Cyveil. and Hoare's Giraldus 2. p. 223. Cynddelw p. 207.

They know not who migrate into every æstuary.
When they bargained for Thanet through lack of discretion
With Horsa and Hengist, who were in their career,
Their prosperity was derived from us, to our dishonour,
After the secret, pregnant with results, of the servile man at the[x] confluence.
Imagine the drunkenness of the great potation of mead,
Imagine the inevitable deaths of many,
Imagine the dreadful lamentations of the women.
It is the feeble sovereign who stirs up the grief.

Mr. Turner remarks that the only words here which imply premeditation are "the consuming secret or destroying secret" (as he renders the words rhin dilain) but in verses of mere allusion and not of direct narration, what could he expect more? Taliesin alludes to the time of the annual convention (viz. May-day) in his Praise of Lludd, observing thereupon, that the assembly was convened by the song of the cuckoo; and he proceeds to say,

Pusillanimous men are somewhat misled
By the fame of the white-bellied *trotter*,[y]
Who cried halloo upon the children of baptism.
No miserable knife-bearer,
The sword of warriors!
Not yet have they attained their desire,
The owner of the land, clumsy of both hands,
And the violent bloody men,
Cymmry, Angles, Irish, and North-British.

The meaning of that passage is, "let not the memory of Hengist "and Gwrtheyrn and the plot of knives discourage us from holding

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[x] Probably of the Stour with some one of its tributary streams.

[y] Hengst, a horse, and the proper name of the Saxon Duke. Gwawd Lludd Arch. 1. *v.* 74. See Davies Myth. p. 568. Would it not read better, Torwen tuthiawl iolydd?

" our stated solemnities, for they, with all of their faction, have not " yet conquered us." Mr. Davies argued at length, but in an[z] unsatisfactory mode, that the Gododin of Aneurin related to this event, in which opinion he was vigorously opposed by Mr. Turner and has had few followers. As I reckon Mr. Davies to have formed a just conjecture, but cannot in few words, nor indeed without pre-assuming things not yet before my readers, explain all my reasons, I must throw them into a digression at the end, and trust they will be found convincing.

I am aware of no argument against the reality of the fact, unless it be that a similar affair is described in the Saxon Chronicle of Witikind of Corbey, who flourished circa 950. That author,[a] in his account of the first arrival of the Saxons in Saxony relates that they touched on the shores of Thuringia (having sailed[b] up the Elbe), and a leader of the Saxons landed, richly adorned with golden chains and bracelets. A Thuringian leader asked him what price he would take for them. The Saxon answered, what he pleased to give; and the Thuringian, having a mind to cheat him, pointed to a heap of earth, and offered him as much of the dust as would fill his lap. It should be added to make good the story, but is not—" and as much ground as the dust would cover." He consented and all the Thuringians highly applauded their countryman's bargain. The Saxon took the dust, and sprinkled it as finely as he could, so as to cover as much

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[z] Mr. Turner justly observes that such " latitude of construction would almost " make any poem mean any thing." 1. 296. Mr. Davies wrote a poem of his own on the subject, which he miscalled a translation of Aneurin; but I shall maintain that Aneurin also wrote one on that subject.

[a] Witikind Annal, p. 2.

[b] See Chron. Holsatiæ p. 14. Ed. Leibnitz.

space as possible; and, when he had thus made the ground his own, the Saxons fortified it strongly. The Thuringians then changed their opinion, and reviled and cursed the man who had made the bargain. Wars ensued, and the Saxons conquered the adjacent districts. At length the Thuringians, finding them too strong to be expelled by force, proposed by messengers that both parties should meet unarmed on a given day, to treat of a pacification. The Saxons came to the conference with their sachs (daggers) concealed under their cloaks, and murdered all the assembly of unarmed Thuringians. This may look, at first sight, as if the story was an immemorially old one imported from Germany, and a traditional blemish in the Saxon history revived against them by the British. But it is not so. This is nothing but the tale of Hengist and the Britons, as will be seen if we compare it step by step.

The Saxon landed in Thuringia.	Hengist landed in Britannia.
The Saxon stipulated for as much land as a lap-full of dust would cover.	Hengist stipulated for as[c] much land as the thongs of a bull's hide would enclose.

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[c] This very ancient fable has passed into a sort of proverb, for such persons as, by obtaining peaceably a small station wherein to fix their residence, do afterwards avail themselves of it to get a mastery over the country. Dido's *Byrsa* or bull's hide at Carthage is well known. The place where Orion was born was called Byrsa because a bull's hide covered it. Hussan Subah prince of the Assassini fortified himself in Allahamout by the same stratagem. Ivar the Dane, in like manner, except that he used a horse's hide, established himself in England. And it is now gravely related in the East, that the English first obtained their factory in Calcutta by the thongs of a bull's hide. It is become a standing metaphor and, as such, is applicable to the location of the Saxons *in Thanet;* as to the story of Thongcaster (or the Caer y Carreiau) *in Lincolnshire,* it is merely grafted on the sound of the words.

The Thuringian was applauded for his treaty with him.	Vortigern's policy was unanimously applauded.
The Saxon fortified the ground and established himself.	Hengist built Thong-Castle, and seemed disposed to settle.
The Thuringians cursed the man whom they had lately applauded.	The fickle people reviled Vortigern for his treaty with the Saxons.
The Saxons conquered the maritime districts of Thuringia.	Hengist conquered Thanet and other parts of Kent.
The Thuringians proposed a solemn conference, to settle their disputes.	Vortigern appointed a conference, to settle the disputes of the two nations.
The Saxons came secretly armed and slew the Thuringians at the conference.	The Saxons came secretly armed and slew the Britons.

The most remarkable circumstance is yet behind. No sooner has Witikind finished this tale of the mode in which the ancient Saxons first settled themselves on the banks of the Elbe, than he adds, *whilst all this is going on* between the Saxons and Thuringians, *dum ea geruntur*, the Britons send over to the Saxons for aid against the Scots and Picts; and then he describes in few and general phrases the visit of the Saxons to Britain and their occupation of the island. He was not aware of the actual identity of the two stories, but yet he was persuaded of their synchronism! Either something had puzzled and deceived him, or he was writing in bad faith and with a reluctance to offend the English kings and people. The circumstance cannot be accounted for. But he is a witness in establishment of the fact, and not in defeat of it.

The scene of this disastrous meeting has been laid at different

spots, Ambresbury, Sarum, and Caer Caradawg, which G. Monm. gives us to understand is another name for the only Sarum that existed in his time, Caercaradoc[d] quæ nunc Salesberia dicitur. But it took place at neither of these towns, but at a place then more important than either. The meeting was on a solemn occasion of such religion as then existed, viz. the cyntevin or May-day. The Meib Llyr expresses the havoc to have occurred at a sanctuary of Belenus the Ancient, i.e. of the Sun. According to Cuhelyn, "the place appointed was the enclosure of (ior) eternity, the great sacred circle (cor) of the dominion." We are led to infer without doubt that it was at the Cor Emmrys and Cor Gawr, being the "locus consecratus" of their annual synod. And this I believe is signified by Caer-Caradoc, the identity whereof with Caer Sallawg I discredit. The real Caradoc was not encamped in those parts. His Caer-Caradoc[e] was in Salopia. King Cynvelyn was his father. But Cynvelyn was the supreme deity of the Mystici, styled also Bran ap Llyr. Caradoc being in reality son of Cynvelyn, became son of Bran, in jargon or cyvrinach. So Melyn or Belenus (the second divine Being, and Mithras, of Britain) being son of god Cynvelyn, becomes, in the same jargon, Caradoc son of king Cynvelyn. That eminence on the great plain which supports the Cor, Geoffry's Mount of Ambri, is the bardic *Mount of Caer Caradoc*, and Caer Caradoc is the Cor Emmrys. The Bruts relate that the stupendous work in question was erected as a sepulchral monument in honour of the slain, which is not a credible statement; but nevertheless it involves the real truth, that being slain they were buried there, and that consequently it *became* their monument,

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[d] G. Monm. viii. c. 9. and Leland cites one John Rowse as affirming, that it was founded by Saint Caradoc Earl of Hereford. Itin. 4. 143.

[e] App. ad Nenn. 2. Gale. 136.

although it was not originally constructed as such, and its erection had by that time ceased to be a novelty. To prove the point farther, I have rendered to my best ability an ancient poem which alludes to the disastrous meeting, and distinctly intimates the nature of the place and occasion at which the violence occurred.

The Talisman of Precious Stones

Sung by Taliesin before Arthur at Caerleon upon Usk.

When, from their place of repose, the *bardic-convention* are united
At the *central place of the precious stones* with a congregation,
And fair is the evening on the ground-plot of the *Place-of-Presence*,
And each is saluting with reverence the Chief,
In that place shall be blood-red pride and presumption,
And wrong done to the War-Horse, and the truth undermost,
And the dominion under the horn in the place of trampling,
And mutual slaughter in all the land because of warfare,
And slaughter from the place of the Chief[e] of the Elements,
And the disorder of our war-shout to be condemned by wisdom.
In that place, the number of warriors far and near,
And lack of sustenance and the want of bread,
And the dead men and the vigorous now close together,
And there a downfall, in our confusion, of the sinister[f] congregation,
And the oppression of driving us very far away.
When the grey hind shall come to the Mount of Asaph
And the eagle, preying on warriors, to the head of Garthganna,
Woe to the land of[g] Essyllt, because of its violation!
In a peaceful state blessed is the prosperity,
In which vagabond men have no habitation.
Let hope, because of the long tyranny, come to us

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[e] The Sun, or rather his father, *the Ætherial Jove*. See Owen Dict. in *Nev.*

[f] *Cwith* cymanva, *infausta* synodus.

[g] Gwent or Siluria, where Caerleon was situated.

Hostages dragged in trucks round the place of severity,
With some one to force us up to the foremost branch of the elm-trees,
Irishmen over the land, to be seen there,
And the bending of men's steps towards Maelor[h] the great.
In that place, prudent shall be the Mount of the Place-of-Presence,
And of the Saxon a disappearance forth from hence.

A tradition to this day is cherished, that the gorsedd or bardic convention and bryn gwyddva, or mount of the place of presence, was in a circle of vast stones such as the Stonehenge; and that belief is sanctioned by the above poem. Unless the stones of the bryn gwyddva were, on some other and unknown occasion of the great annual solemnity, a scene of massacre and horrid violence, (which would be a wanton hypothesis) the twyll y cyllyll must be the thing here adverted to.

The first day of May was the opening day of the solemnity, but the vernal jubilee did not last less than[i] seven days. It does not follow that, because the havoc took place at the festival which is always called that of May-day, Cyntevin, or Belteinne, it occurred precisely on the first day of May. It seems to have taken place on a Thursday. In Taliesin's poem called Mic Dinbych, i. e. the Malice of the Concealed Sin, we meet with this strong intimation of the fact;

Wednesday I saw men in mutual enjoyment,
Thursday there was contumely to that which they defended,
Their scalps were made red, and clamorous was the shriek.
They learnt that it was the day of going into dust,

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[h] Bangor Maelor, a remarkable seat of learning among the British, near Chester. This poem was probably composed about the same time as the Meib Llyr (viz. soon after the battles of Bangor and Chester, and elevation of the victorious king Cadvan) and passed off for a prophecy by Taliesin.

[i] See the Gwawd Lludd.

And they broke the circle, curved round the flat-stone of Maelwy.
Fallen are they, the fettered[j] host of friends.

The massacre above described was at a meeting held for "mutual enjoyment," i. e. pacific and festive, and at a circular structure surrounding a large flat stone; particulars which cannot be mistaken. Merddin Wyllt, prophesying in his Avallenau that the sect should experience fresh disasters in a second war of Camlan, subjoins, "it shall then be a Thursday;" and the Ymarwar Mawr. *v.* 24, alludes obscurely to the same ill-omened day of the week. A poetical proverb in the Gaelic dialect says,[k]

Woe to the mother of a magician's son
When the Belteinne happens upon a Thursday.

That notion cannot easily be explained, but by supposing that the great slaughter of the Neo-Druid magi happened upon that day. Mr. Pennant[l] mentions another tradition among the Highlanders. On whatsoever day the third of May happens to fall in any given year, they will during the year undertake nothing of moment upon that day of the week. In these particulars we find some inducement to suppose that the event happened on Thursday the 3rd of May; and the hint may hereafter serve as an aid towards fixing the year, if it be in doubt.

One fact is very important as shewing the nature of that power which was upon the ascendant in Britain. The members of the national synod were the college of Bards. The Bards did not simply attend as musicians, to enliven the festival and usher in the approaching summer with hymns. They composed the congress, and they were the persons massacred. These bards were not mere poets, but were

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[j] See above p. xiii.

[k] See Cambr. Qu. Mag. 5. p. 564.

[l] Tour in Scotland 1. p. 111.

the Druids of renascent heathenism, the priests and prophets of the apostasy; nor were they mere priests officiating as such, but a domineering conclave who dictated to king and people. Besides the Gododin poems, concerning which I am forced to reserve my argument, Golyddan avouches the remarkable fact, that the synod of 360 were so many bards, while (by a play, such as bards often indulged in) he exactly dimidiates the number.

> [m] The artificers of music collected together the tributes.
> Nine score of songsters arrived,
> But from the great outrage there returned not save four.

Although the loss of eighteen score of their leaders would seem a fatal blow to any such association, we shall find that these events in the issue transferred to the people called Bards of Beli all power and government both religious, civil, and military.

§ 7. The lions were not painters; neither were the Centaurs poets, to explain and justify their bloody carousal with the Lapithæ. The Saxons did not become a literary people until long after the event, so that we have, and I may say they had, but one of the two stories, the charge without the recrimination. That one story, even so, is a very lame one. The rebels Gwrthevyr and Cyndeyrn (supposing them real and not fabulous beings) were no more. The people were returned to their obedience; and it was desired by the king, the Saxon queen, and no doubt by every reasonable man then existing among the Britons, to conclude a solid peace and alliance with the Saxons of Kent. They held but a portion of that province. Thanet was their strong-hold. And their Duke was invited to come into the heart of Wiltshire, with only such a following as suited the occasion.

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[m] Golyddan *v.* 72-4.

On the faith of the British king and British nation, and under the sanction of the national superstition then about to have its vernal solemnization, they were invited to place themselves at the mercy of their enemies. It would be imputing a sort of madness to Hengist and his followers, to suppose that they could design such a murderous aggression upon the assembled senate of the Britons, in the heart of their dominions, and in the midst of a crowded jubilee. His consenting to trust himself among them might be termed imprudent, but that he knew he had to deal with a faithful prince his son-in-law, who had even been driven from the throne on his account, and who had many zealous supporters among the British clans, both "Cymmry, Irish, and North-British." And even thus, it appears that the Saxon guests got away from the dangers that surrounded them with severe loss and much difficulty. That the fighting was renewed on the Friday, Saturday, Sunday, and Monday, much to their loss would appear from the Gododin[n] poems, if admitted as relevant; though Aneurin speaks as a poet, when he says one did not escape out of a hundred. However the fact is, that Hengist and those who were invited with him, came privily armed to the banquet, and slew nearly all the British who partook of it; and that fact we have to account for, if possible.

This is the only probable construction I can put upon it. The Bardic college (being upon this occasion assembled) and the leaders of the Gwrthevyr faction (which had previously upset Gwrtheyrn, and waged war upon the Saxon allies of their king and country) came to the meeting with words of peace and conciliation, but with a deep and

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[n] Aneurin p. 10. Maelderw p. 87.

privily concerted plan, to destroy the Saxon Duke and all his chieftains and their own Saxon Queen, if not the King himself.

I will cite from Mr. Turner a similar instance of a murderous plot under pretence of a congress of pacification, organized by Dunstan and his faction, against the nobility and secular clergy. "A "council of the nobles was summoned at Calne. It was managed that "the king should be absent on account of his age. While the senators "of England were conversing unsuspectingly on the question then "agitated, and were reproaching Dunstan, he gave a short reply, which "ended with these remarkable words. 'I confess that I am unwilling "to be overcome. I commit the cause of the church to the decision of "Christ.' As the words were uttered, the floor and its beams and "rafters gave way, and precipitated the company with the ruins to "the earth below. The seat of Dunstan alone was unmoved. Many "of the nobles were killed upon the spot; the others were grievously "hurt by wounds which kept them long confined." Such and even more deadly was the purpose of the Neo-Druids at the congress of the Stonehenge.

Means would not be wanting to that ingenious and occultly organized body, to destroy an unsuspecting and intoxicated party. The details of this dark project lie probably beyond° the reach of our conjecture. But it seems that the Saxon duke had obtained timely warning of the reception intended for him, and took care that his people should not come to the table entirely unarmed. When the proceedings of the banquet had gone so far, that he, looking with the eye of a man previously aware, could see mischief impending, he

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° I entertain a suspicion, that it was intended to intoxicate them utterly, and then to set fire to a surrounding mass of combustibles, cunningly predisposed in such manner as to consume or suffocate the drunken sleepers.

issued his commands, and his perfidious entertainers perished by the blows of the seaxas. He certainly did not commit this desperate act without a motive. Ambitious aggression could not have been his motive, for on those terms he would have speedily perished. Self-preservation was the only cause, that could render it possible, I do not say for him to do it, but for him to do it and return safe and sound into Kent; because that alone could bring the king and the British royalists, Gwrtheyrn's party in the state, to favour and protect him under such circumstances. They were very unfortunate ones for him and his royal connexions. He had broken the salt-dish and stained the board of hospitality, of which others and not he were the real profaners, and he thus lay fully open to all the invectives which the surviving factious could address to a hot-blooded, ill-informed, and ill-affected people.

This remark may be expected. The British conclave may have been entirely innocent of any guile, and venerable men butchered like lambs at the sacred altar of peace; not indeed by the audacity of Hengist himself, but by the atrocious policy of Gwrtheyrn, who wished to make use of his wife's countrymen as instruments to put away all the leaders of the party who had sided against him, and actually employed the German to massacre the chief men of his own people. But there is an ample reply to that argument.

Gwrtheyrn's memory was detested by the Britons, who were taught to consider him as the main cause of their ruin, and by their Bards and learned men, who taught them to do so. That is one reason, why his character has been loaded with the absurd and aliene charge of betraying and murdering Constans Cæsar. But there was also another reason. It was not desired that his real history and the honorific circumstances of his elevation should be known, but it was

determined to surround his name with clouds of suspicion and disgrace. They invented a story of his having a daughter, and getting her with child himself, having a son Faustus by her, and being excommunicated for it by St. German of Auxerre, who really was at that time dead and buried. They affected disgust at the Saxons for their fairness of complexion. Taliesin terms Hengist a *white-bellied* hackney, and his followers a people

"Of *pale hue*, hateful hue, and hateful form,"

and again,

A Saxon shivering and quaking,
His white hair washed in blood.

and in Golyddan,

Close upon the tails of the *pale-faced ones* were the spear points.

With respect to his daughter, they did not even permit her name to come down to our days. They styled her Alis i. e, Hell, as they also used to call the Saxons the Plant Alis, Offspring of Hell; and they styled her Rhon-wen i. e. White-tail, whence her vulgar name[p] Rowen. Those who have been minded to be sceptical as to the existence of this Queen of unknown name may satisfy themselves of it from this. Scurrility does not vent its jests upon imaginary persons, but upon those who are known and detested.

I have said all this to shew that the king and his household were spoken of with the exaggerated bitterness of extreme hostility. Therefore if Gwrtheyrn had been the monster of treachery, sacrilege, and inhumanity, which the above hypothesis would make him, every harp from Bernicia to Cornwall would have sung out his infamy till

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[p] Vortimerii noverca Rowen. Fordun. 3. 15. Bronwen, White-breast, was a proper name of women among the Britons.

they made the welkin ring. They would have assailed him with their *awen*, the furious ebullitions of their damnatory eloquence, and not with their *cyvrinach* or artful involution of words and substitution of facts. But no such adequate censure is pronounced upon Gwrtheyrn. Tysilio and his followers cast no sort of imputation either on his moral or prudential conduct, as regards this transaction, neither does the author of the year 858 called Nennius. Taliesin, in his allusions to him and it, only derides him insultingly, and distinguishes him from the sanguinary foe as "the clumsy of both hands" or "clumsy of grasp." Golyddan, after deploring the violence committed, ascribes it to *the weakness* of the king. It is clear upon the whole of this, that his conduct tended to produce the deaths of the British conclave, but that his worst enemies could not and did not accuse him of being the atrocious butcher of his own people. A poem of Taliesin is extant entitled "Twyll y cyllyll hirion," the Plot of Long Knives, but the Myvyrian editors have withheld it from the public.

The discovery must probably have been effected by the British government and royal family, whose persons were scarcely in less jeopardy than those of Hengist and his friends, and by them imparted to the latter. Both were in nearly equal difficulty how to act. The Saxons were in the heart of a foreign territory without resources at hand; and the king, though honourably treated, was surrounded by an artful and popular faction whose power had already once prevailed over his. One resource remained, rendered safe by its own boldness, to anticipate their design, and take them in the pit which they had dug. Gwrtheyrn having discovered their murderous and treasonable intentions warned his father-in-law to provide for his own and daughter's safety as well as he might. It is not wholly unworthy of

notice, that Gerontius slew the 300 in defence of his own life, that of his wife, and that of his Teutonic friend. But we will proceed to more conclusive grounds.

Let us consider the surname of reproach which they fastened on to his name, and which has cloven to him for ever, calling him Gwrtheyrn *Gwrthenau*, Vortigern *of the Untoward Mouth*. It appears from thence, that he wrought the evil they complain of, by something that he said; and that if Gwrtheyrn had kept silence all might have been right. Mr. E. Davies imagined that he was so called, because he gave the word to the troops to halt, upon some occasion of victory, when they might have destroyed the Saxons. But it does not appear to me that he (personally) was ever engaged in hostilities with that nation for a moment. The 53rd Triad approaches the truth, though warily, and in the jargon of the mysteries. "Gwrtheyrn Gwrthenau revealed the hidden dragons which Lludd ap Beli had concealed in the stronghold of the Higher Powers, in revenge for the displeasure which the Cymmry felt towards him, for calling in the Saxons under the semblance of auxiliaries to fight against the Gwyddel Fichti; and after that, he revealed the bones of Gwrthevyr the Blessed, out of love for Rhon-wen the daughter of Hengist the Saxon. These two disclosures (with that of Bran's head by Arthur) produced the subjugation of the Britons." So we find, that the contrariety of Gwrtheyrn's mouth lay in the disclosure of secrets, and not in orders given to his troops. Some secret of vast moment was divulged by him, out of friendship to his allies and love for his wife. Next I will shew, that the same had reference to the intrigues of the Druidizing fanatics and faction of Gwrthevyr. But let it be premised, that the second order of Bards, who succeeded to that first order of Bards who flourished before Christ, and the same who belong to

the Neo-British period of which I speak, were called *the*[q] *Bards of Beli;* and secondly, that the obscure poem in which Taliesin reviles Gwrtheyrn and Hengist, and exhorts his sect not to be shaken in faith and courage by the calamity their predecessors suffered at the banquet of the knife-bearers, is entitled *the Praise of Lludd* the son of Beli. Yet, strange to say, Lludd's name does not occur in it, nor does it contain any perceptible allusion to him or to any thing that concerns him. It is a praise of the Sect, and of its annual Pan-Druidic conventions, and a vindication of it and them from any supposed disparagement by reason of the fatal and bloody meeting of May 472. It seems to follow, that Lludd ap Beli, (no[r] matter why) stands for the sect and its meetings; and if so, *his* concealed dragons must be some of *their* hidden machinations. It follows, that when Gwrtheyrn of the Untoward Mouth revealed his dragons, he did, in plain phrase, betray their secret designs. I can further add, that those secret designs were immediately connected with the fatal congress of May-day; because *the hidden dragons of Lludd* may be shewn to be closely connected with that event, and *they* were what Gwrtheyrn's mouth revealed. In the ancient reign of Lludd ap Beli (says the[s] Brut Tysilio) a shriek was heard over every hearth in Britain *on the night of every May-Day*, and so struck every man and beast to the heart, that the men lost their strength, the women miscarried, the youth of either sex became senseless, and the beasts and trees unproductive. Llefelys, the brother of Lludd, and a great proficient in occult knowledge, said to Lludd, "the shrieks arise from a contest between the dragon of Britain, and the dragon *of a foreign nation which on the night of May-*

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[q] Institutional Triads, published by E. Williams. Tr. 4.

[r] But see above p. lvii, lviii.

[s] P. 67, Roberts.

Day endeavours to conquer her, and the shriek you hear is given by your dragon in her rage and distress." He then instructed Lludd to bury the dragons deep in the earth, and whilst they remained there, no calamity from abroad should afflict the island. Cuhelyn said in his ode on the massacre by Hengist,

"A shriek prolonged, loudly uttered,"

Taliesin said in respect of the same event "clamorous was the shriek," and that shriek was the only one which a foreign nation ever gave Britannia occasion to raise during the solemnity of her Belteinne and Cyntevin feast. Its recurrence annually, every May night, during the reign of Lludd ap Beli, (i. e. during the ascendancy of the Bards of Beli), is an anniversary lamentation which they instituted and kept up during their sway. This passage is one which goes to evince, that some of the ancient British history was invented after Gwrtheyrn's reign, in the Neo-Druidic æra, without retrospective truth, but anticipative, and derived from circumstances of later date. It also shews, that the secret which Gwrtheyrn's untoward mouth divulged concerning the dragons of Lludd was one immediately relating to the congress of May-day. Need I add, that they who have the awful secret to conceal from others, and not they unto whom the truth is revealed, are the guilty plotters? Direct narratives may invent the facts they relate; but a series of occasional, indirect, proverbial, and even occult allusions, such as require our pains and close inspection to appreciate them, repay our pains by becoming irrefragable proofs of reality. If the Gododin and Gorchan Cynvelyn be upon the subject of that feast and massacre, the style in which they are composed shews plainly enough that the event really happened and was no romance or fiction; and that they *are* upon that subject, I am entirely satisfied. The Gododin and the other productions connected with it,

thus understood, are strong evidence of British guilt and of Hengist's innocence.

§ 8. Gwrtheyrn came from Gwynedd where Roman manners were but imperfectly established, and his education was vicious on matters of religion, and deeply tinged with pagan error. But we may infer from the virulent opposition of the Bardic polytheists and heathens to his government that he at last saw mischief in their intrigues, and no longer lent his authority to urge on the apostacy of Britannia. He had a hard task to perform. His people were composed of the provincial and Romanizing Britons, who partook of that general depravity and bad faith which were a cause of decay to the whole empire, and of various tribes of untamed and half-converted or unconverted Celts, whose minds were continually intoxicated with mead, bloodshed, and fanatical song. He in a manner belonged to these himself, and was probably beholden to them. Finding his people incompetent to resist the predatory forces of Ireland and Caledonia by their own efforts, he seems to have formed a wise plan and adhered to it steadily. If those whom he governed had been capable of appreciating his counsels, it is likely that they would have been extricated from all their trouble, and the drained population of Britannia replenished by colonists of the utmost value to her. The employment of foreigners is no evil of itself, it is sometimes necessary or singularly useful, but it becomes an evil, not by the fault of the strangers in being strangers, but by the bad passions and prejudices of those into whose country the strangers are introduced. A nation so constituted, that it can neither dispense with foreign interposition, nor acquiesce in it, cannot prosper in any way. But Gwrtheyrn of Gwynedd was a little above the rate of his countrymen, who had so lately been fierce and lawless *Cymmerwyr*. He was a king, not a

mere clan's chief, and could embrace some larger views than brawling with his next neighbours and getting tipsy on mead. Gildas, who abstains from bestowing the slightest moral praise on any British prince, describes him by nothing worse than the phrases infaustus tyrannus and superbus tyrannus; and he is the only prince whose name he mentions without the imputation of gross immoralities or atrocious crimes. He expressly exonerates him from blame in the affair of inviting the Saxons, which he says was done with the unanimous voice of all his counsellors. I feel a complete persuasion that he is the man whom Gildas had in his mind, when he wrote the following. "They anointed kings, but not by God, anointing those who were the most cruel. The same men were soon after put to death by those who had anointed them, not from a just consideration of their demerits, but to elect others more fierce. *But if there was one amongst them of a milder character, and somewhat less remote from the principles of truth, they all united to turn their weapons against* HIM, *as if he were the subverter of Britannia.*" It will not be easy to name any other prince to whom those words are applicable.

It is said that Gwrtheyrn was made a prisoner by Hengist on that occasion. But the meaning of the assertion is, that he and his queen had then no security left for them, but in the midst of their foreign auxiliaries, from whom his subjects sought to *liberate* him, as the loyal subjects of Edward II. and Charles I. took arms to liberate them from the custody of evil counsellors. It is agreed in all statements that Gwrtheyrn sometime afterwards retired into Wales, but whether in the view of renouncing the affairs of the insular monarchy altogether, or of raising succours in his own native land, does not appear. It is stated in Tysilio that, after a certain lapse of time, his enemies followed him into that country, besieged him in a castle (near

the river Wye in Gwent) to which[t] they set fire, and burnt him and his wife and family. Nennius (c. 49) lays the scene upon the river Tivy in Dyved. Others have even removed it to Rhydychain[u] or Oxford. But tradition avers that he perished in Gwynedd in a deep glen of the Snowdon district, yet called Nant y Gwrtheyrn or Vortigern's Ravine; and I would believe so probable a tradition, in decided preference to historians such as have fallen to Vortigern's lot. The lying Book of[v] St. German said, that he and his castle were burnt by fire from heaven; others related that his castle was set on fire, yet that he was not burnt, but that the earth yawned and swallowed him; and others again, that he wandered about till he died of a broken heart. But these three stories have never prevailed against the preceding one, which is cherished in the hereditary belief of his countrymen, and also derives an oblique sanction (as in due time we shall see) from Gildas. Whatever arts were employed for his destruction they were most probably not such as to destroy his body as well as his life, for Taliesin says in his Beddau or Graves, st. 40,

The grave in Ystyvachau
Is as all men suppose
[w] The grave of Gwrtheyrn Gwrthenau.

For several reasons (as we shall likewise see in due time) a veil is flung over those transactions, and it is woven up into that original allegory with which the calumniation of Gwrtheyrn commenced. Gerontius was destroyed in his strong house, which was set on fire, after the slaying of his 300 followers; but he was the murderer of

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[t] Brut Tysilio. [u] See H. Llwyd Comment. p. 32.

[v] Cit. Nennius c. 49—51. Gale.

[w] A small tumulus of stone covered with turf and situated above Nant y Gwrtheyrn is entitled Bedd Gwrtheyrn. It was found to contain a stone coffin and the bones of a tall man. Pennant's Wales 2. 205.

Constans son of Constantine; and consequently the leaders, by whose vengeance Gwrtheyrn (the Quasi-Gerontius) perished, were sons of Constantine and brothers of Constans. We cannot estimate from any direct data the length of time which elapsed between the plot of knives and the combustion of Gwrtheyrn's house. But, when we come to consider the chronology of the prince of Gwynedd by whose treason Vortigern perished, it will appear to have been a period of many years.

The cry of war both civil and foreign ran through the country, which never tasted of peace again. That which had hitherto been a long-protracted and sanguinary dispute of the government and its German auxiliaries with the seditious, concerning unsettled accounts and the fulfilment of stipulations, (the said auxiliaries being exasperated against the factious, but continuing closely attached to Rowen's husband and the royalists) was now becoming a national war of internecion. Ælla and Cerdic came over openly as invaders, to take the country of which the tekel ufarsin had been written at the bloody banquet.

CHAP. III.

MYTHOLOGICAL HISTORY.—BARDIC THEOCRACY.—EMMRYS GWLEDIG OR AURELIUS AMBROSIUS, OTHERWISE MERDDIN.—REIGN OF THE SUN.—IMMOLATION OF HENGIST.—REIGN OF UTHYR PENDRAGON OR GORLASSAR, THE JUPITER OF THE GREEKS AND ROMANS.

Aureliam familiam ex Sabinis oriundam a Sole dictam putant; quòd ei publicè a populo Romano datus sit locus in quo sacra facerent Soli.

POMP. FESTUS.

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§ 1. THE next steps in the legend of Britannia leave us nothing on which to fix our belief. Princes are exhibited to us more eminent and splendid than any before or after, but not recognized in any Saxon history, rejected from the chronography of Florence of Worcester, whose names are heathenish titles of superstition, and their adventures full of marvel and incredibility.

The Bardic power was now moving the nation, and exciting them to revenge. The whole ensuing æra may be regarded as the reign of the Bards of Beli. Pasgen son of Gwrtheyrn was driven away; and Aurelius Ambrosius were the titles of the new sovereign. Both are titles of the Sun, borrowed from the alchemy of the Mithriaes; the former signifying the *Gold of the Sun*, and appropriated from immemorial to the priests of that luminary, and the latter signifying the *Elixir of Life*.

The Latin word Ambrosius was celtified into Emmrys, and Gwledig was substituted for Aurelius in the inverse order of arrangement. That fact appears not only in the names Emmrys Wledig, but also in Cynan Wledig, whose names Gildas himself (his cotemporary) expresses Aurelius Conan. Paul, a noble Briton who went over to Armorica in 512 and is honoured there as St. Pol de Leon, is invariably styled by the writers of his legend S. Paulus Aurelianus. Could we trace that appellation into his native tongue, we should expect to find that he was Paul Wledig. The reasons of this are not obvious, and may be adverted to again.

Aurelius Ambrosius has been described in all the several capacities of an[x] Augustus or Roman tyrannus, a British king, and a priestly wizard. But in the latter, he is also called Merddin, whereas they who make Ambrosius a king of this island give him no such name, but make a separate Merddin, that king's chief bard and sorceror.

His first victory was that of the *Field of Beli.* And he is said to have built Stonehenge by preternatural agency as a sepulchre for the slain at the bloody banquet. No doubt, but they were very solemnly interred at that place. It should seem that the Saxons slain at the feast were also buried with honour. At least, so much may reasonably be inferred from the mythological jargon in which the Britons enveloped the matter. After the sanguinary contest between the British and foreign dragons on May-day, the enchanter Llefelys advised Lludd ap Beli to bury them deep in the earth, not the shrieking

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[x] Only by the interpolator of the Ambrosian MS. of Warnefrid's Hist. Miscell. *L.* 15. in Murat. Scr. Ital. 1. p. 100, and by such as have followed that interpolated document.

British dragon only, *but both of them*. That were a strange honour to pay to German assassins; but it was a natural propitiation to offer to the manes of injured men.

The Brut Tysilio scarcely ascribes an act to Aurelius Ambrosius personally, but every thing is done by the act of an aulic council or other assembly. It was the like afterwards in Uthyr's days. And Arthur presided over a table whose shape intimated the equality of the guests. Britannia had no longer one head. Those, however, who deliver the tale of king Ambrosius, say that he was poisoned and buried in the Stonehenge.

But if we take that version of the story, by which Merddin Emmrys Wledig is a bard and a wizard, we find that after a miraculous birth, and a marvellous sojourn upon earth, he sailed away in a house of glass, or was imprisoned for ever in a subterraneous chamber, or in a prison of air under a hawthorn-tree. It is enchanted ground, and we are descending into the galleries of Eleusis.

§ 2. In truth, the Aurelian Ambrosian æra is not that of any real monarch elected by the minor kings to rule over Britannia, but it is the reign of the Sun himself, during which the country was entirely governed upon a model of theocracy by the college of Neo-Druids. Tuus jam regnat Apollo. The Bards, and the Triadists, whose learning is of Bardic and not Brudic origin, recognise Ambrosius as the chief of Bards, enchanters, and prophets, but very rarely as a king, in which latter capacity the dissembling authors of the Tysilionic and Nennian Bruts represent him. Yet were they not two personages, both adorned with the same title, but one Being differently described. That was clearly perceived and stated by the famous Milton[y] in his history, and

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[y] Hist. p. 32. Ed. 1706.

Nennius (as Milton observed) makes but one person of them. The same party who endeavour to prop the credit of fable by imagining two Arthurs, may also wish to dispute this proposition. But it is one of which Taliesin gives evidence in his first collection of Graves,

> In the mount of election the grave[z] of Ann ap Lleian,
> The host-marshalling lion Ambrose,
> Merddin Ambrose the chief of enchanters.

Eidiol Gadarn who slew so many Saxons at the banquet of the Cor Emmrys over which sanctuary he presided, and his brother a priest, are mentioned as prominent persons during the Ambrosian reign. The principal achievement of that reign, besides the murder of Gwrtheyrn and his family, was the overpowering and slaying of Hengist.

§ 3. Tysilio, the venerable Beda, and a host of succeeding writers, being misled by the misconstruction of a passage in the obscurely worded tract of Gildas, have paradoxically imagined that Hengist's forces came over to England in three Jutland boats, called cyuls. They more likely came over in three score. "Then," says Gildas, "the herd of lion's whelps, *a tribe* from the den of the barbarian lioness, broke forth in their cyuls or long vessels." Tribus is not always the ablative of tres. But their force was comparatively small, and there is every probability of its having been overpowered, by the burst of fanaticism which now occurred. Hengist having been

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[z] Merddin from the circumstances of his miraculous conception was styled Ann *vab y lleian*, son of the nun. Tysilio p. 260. G. ap. Arthur 261. The word anhap which squares well enough with Ann ap, has no similitude to Ann vab; and hap, what happens, anhap, a mishap, are words unknown to the Armorican and borrowed from the English, no doubt at a much later period. I conceive that Ann is the Latin word Annus, the god Abraxas, ὁ Ἡλιος ἡμερων, the king of the solar year. See the Song of Graves st. 14. Arch. 1. p. 78.

made prisoner by the Britons at Caer Cynan[a] near Doncaster (now Conisborow) was kept a prisoner for some days, at the end of which Emmrys held a council to determine on his fate. At this council a bishop (brother to that Eidiol who was superintendent of the Cor Gawr) declared that, whoever might befriend him, he would hew him to pieces as the prophet Samuel slew Agag king of Amalek. Hereupon Eidiol received a sword from his brother, and led Hengist outside of the place to the summit of a hill, and smote off his head. A mound (still remaining) was erected over his remains. There is in this narrative of the Brut enough to satisfy us of its truth. It is not only a passage in the history of the Britons foully disgraceful to them as stated. But it is stated with all the Brudic dissimulation. The motive for stating, instead of suppressing, this fact, was to disfigure it completely, and, by admitting a particular blot, to disguise the one grand[b] and general blot of Christ rejected and the hideous orgies of Druidism revived. Eidiol "ruler of the circumference" and "knight of the enclosure" at the Stonehenge, was a fanatical votary of that superstition, his priestly brother was its consecrated minister, the summit of the hill was one of its high places, the weapon employed was one appropriated to sacrificial uses, and the whole transaction was the offering of an illustrious[c] human victim to the powers they worshipped. The Saxon Chroniclers, after dwelling upon some of the acts of Hengist's life, avoid all mention of his death, and state that Æsca[d] his son obtained the Kentish kingdom in A. D. 488, without

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[a] Concerning this place, see a digression at the end.

[b] See the remarks above, p. xxxii.

[c] We should explain those rhapsodies of the Gododin, which twice mention a solemn sacrifice done at the place of the omen-fire, aberth am coelcerth, as relating to this awful transaction. Aneurin *v.* 739. 868.

[d] Her Æsc fenge to rike, and wæs 24 winter Cantwara cyning. Chron. Sax. An. 488. and see the like in Ethelwerd.

giving any intimation of the means by which it became vacant, or even of its being vacant at all. That something ominous and disastrous attached to the name of the famous founder of their kingdom, may be partly collected from the men of Kent styling their dynasty of princes the Æscingas and not the Hengestingas. Let us not fall into the error of supposing, that Hengist's exploits and fortunes were confined within Kent because his own duchy was. He and his gallant band were indissolubly linked to the person and fortunes of his son-in-law, who during a number of years was supported by his British adherents against the madness which had exploded. Volumes of direct human testimony may pass into discredit, sooner than this evidence which arises out of the equivocating admissions of impenitent shame.

During the reign of Ambrosius civil as well as foreign war afflicted Britain. A great war entitled the Cat-gwoloph[d] was waged by Ambrosius against the British prelate Guitholin. It is said to have broken out twelve years after the reign of Gwrtheyrn, but nothing is known of its incidents or results.

§ 4. The next short period is assigned by the Chroniclers to a brother of Emmrys Wledig named Uthyr, i. e. the Portent or Portentous, and Pen-Dragon, i.e. having the Head of a Serpent. This imaginary prince was instrumental, as the fable goes, in erecting the great Cor upon the Maes Mawr, Maes Caer-Caradawg, or Plain of Salisbury, during the reign of his brother. His own reign was short, and the termination of his life the same as that of king Ambrosius, viz. being poisoned, and interment in the Stonehenge. Those who have been studious to exculpate the Britons of this intermediate period from their gross errors, have endeavoured to put upon the name *Pendragon*

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[d] Appx. 2 ad Nenn. p. 118. Gale. This unintelligible word may be corrected into Cat-gwallof, *war of effusion* or sanguinary war.

the rational construction of *Head-leader* or Commander in chief, instead of "having a Dragon's Head." But they are not borne out in their attempt. Old Tysilio himself, than whom no man was more strongly animated with the same desire, fully admits *the meaning* of the word, and is content to explain it away by saying, that a comet with the head of a dragon appeared at the time of king Uthyr's accession, and that he made two golden images of it, one of which he deposited in Winchester church, and made the other his standard in battle. "From this circumstance he was thenceforward[e] called Uthyr of the Dragon's Head." Such is the best apology that the son of Brochvael ventured to offer for the name of the royal sorceror, whose incredible and vile acts he commemorated. Fable assigns to him one other son, besides the famous Arthur, by name Madawg ap Uthyr; but the etymon of *Madawg* is "of or belonging to a serpent." Gervas of Tilbury a contemporary and kinsman of Richard Cœur de Lion says to the Emperor[f] Otho the Fourth, "Pendragon signifies dragon's head, and hence it arose that the English kingdom makes use of a dragon with a golden head for its banner, which same was not only well known to his neighbours, but was terrible even to the Pagans in ultra-marine parts, under thine uncle the illustrious king Richard." The Gorchan Maelderw, or Incantation of the Proficient of the Oak-Tree, is a poem delivered upon the formation of the magical banner of the Red Dragon of Britain, which was prepared after the massacre of the mead-feast, and by way of a talisman against Hengist, in which it is written "stretch the warp of wrath, stretch the wrathful warp of the flexible streamer," and which describes it as "the Red Dragon, the victory of the Higher Powers, accompanying them

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[e] Tysilio p. 133, Roberts.

[f] Gerv. de Reg. p. 43.

upon the blast, flying in unison with them." It is a war song, probably, of the Ambrosian æra. Taliesin's Dirge[g] of Uthyr Pendragon does not contain either of those names; but, in their place, the name of Gorlassar, which signifies the æther, or blue firmament, and it speaks of the Dragon visiting the sanctuary of the great stones. Arthur, his son, is called by his own name, and by the appellation of Hen-Pen, the Old Head.

It appears to me, that these mysteries depict the Heavens, or Pantheistic Jove, as a serpent, of which the sun is the golden head. Uthyr together with Merddin, deceiving Eigyr at Tintagel, are the Jove and Mercury of Alcmena, in all the material points of the narrative. And the Jove of Alcmena is the lascivious Dragon in the Babylonish temple of Jupiter Belus, and the Dragon of Olympias, and of Scipio's mother, and of the mother of Cæsar Octavius. A few passages of classical mythology were borrowed and transferred to their own with scarce any alteration by the Britons of the 5th and 6th centuries; and the tale of Jove and Mercury at Amphitryon's house is one of them. As the Mundane Serpent contained the essence of all things that be, so did his own head contain his own entire essence. That doctrine was expressed by the Hermetics of Ægypt, in their parable, that the great serpent Aspidogorgon[h] devoured all the other serpents in the temples of Ægypt, and then devoured his own body till nothing was left but the head. As early as Homer, the Gorgèan Head of the *Terrible Portent* (which words express the sense of *Uthyr*) was the last and most appalling of the mysteries which are

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[g] That mysterious poem is not an Elegy *upon* Uthyr but one *by* him upon his son Arthur. That it is so, is sufficiently evident, but I mention it as the mistake has been made in *Horæ Britannicæ* and elsewhere.

[h] S. Epiphan. Hæres. p. 61. p. 151.

concealed in Hell itself. And the Middle Ages[i] had a disgusting legend of the procreation of the Gorgon Head without body, from a warrior and a dead woman. The Gorlassar or Pen-Dragon and the Arthur of the British Bards tally with the Oromazdes and the Mithras of the eastern Magi.

The former of those beings is[j] Cyn-Velyn and Cyn-Velen i. e. Yellow-Headed; and the latter is Melen, Melyn, or Hen-Velen, the Yellow, or the Yellow and Ancient, in Latin Bĕlenus and Bĕlinus. The latter is, in theosophy, the son of the former, and is termed in British mythologies Melyn[k] mab Cynvelyn, i. e. Flavus Flavicipitis filius. These words, which are written with a short E, and are simple equivalents of Flavus, are perpetually confounded with the Chaldee name Belus, written with the long vowel, Βηλος, or with its equivalents the two short ones, as in Baal and in Beel-zebub. But they are totally unconnected. The Bealtuinne, or May-Day, is also styled in Gaelic the La *Buidhe*, the Day *of the Yellow*. Mad-Velen or the Yellow Serpent was spoken of by poets as the most exquisitely beautiful of all beings; yet contagious pestilences were ascribed to the Mad-Velen, as the plague in Homer is to the arrows of Apollo.

The notion of the Serpent's Head, as distinguished from the rest of his body, seems to have been originally derived from God's declaration against Satan; and was actually connected with that passage of Scripture, in the minds of the Bards of Beli, who were a sort of heretics, and not mere heathen. That curious group of stones at

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[i] Gerv. Otia Imp. 2. c. 12. p. 920.

[j] Cynvelyn, Pendragon, and Gorlassar is Bran ap Llyr the secret protector of Britannia. But the man Cynvelyn (who perhaps was born with red hair) was father of Caractacus, ergo, in Bardic jargon Bran was his father.

[k] Triad 79. p. 69. Triad 36. p. 8.

Abury was in the form of a serpent, or what Dr. Stukely terms a Dracontium; and the conspicuous circle forming the serpent's head is called the Hagpen. The quodlibetarian Stukely endeavoured to unite the British pen, a head, to an *Arabic* word for a serpent, and so to make out of it, what he could not find in it, *Serpent's Head.* But the case offers no apology for such an outrage upon good sense. The word is a plain British one, and means *the Wounded Head*, the head pierced through the skull and through the brain at Camlan, "dead[1] and alive," which never suffered death, yet was never healed.

§ 5. The fable of Uthyr, is of such a character as to lead us to the supposition that the apostasy became more fierce, barbarous, and undisguised than under the Ambrosian regimen. It also gives us to understand that the Cymmry who then occupied parts of the modern Cornwall and Devon, and among others the fortress of Tintagel, aspired to a prominent part in British affairs under the Uthyrian regimen. They held that prominent station during the period of the Arthurian regimen, and for two or three years after it.

The chronology of the fabulous king Uthyr Pendragon has been thought to coincide with that of one Natanleod, who according to the Saxon Chronicle was defeated and slain by Cerdic in 508. He was so eminent a person that the district in which this happened received from him the appellation of Natan-leage, the lee (or land) of Natan. From hence we clearly learn that this man's name was Nathan, being one of the many Britons who affected Jewish appellations; and, as to the annexed word, I think the Chronicler was too well acquainted with the word *leod* in his own tongue (a tribe, or nation) to have possibly mistaken it for a man's title, and we should therefore turn to

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[1] Prophecies de Merlin fol. lxxiii. a.

the British tongue, in which the noun leod signifies lectura, reading, and interpret Nathan Leod, Nathan the Learned. Although he was a person of such lasting celebrity among his enemies, those who wrote of British affairs did not find it square with their convenience to mention his name.

Having disposed of these two Bardic vanities, we arrive at the vanity of vanities, Arthur son of Uthyr Pendragon, nephew of Ambrosius Aurelius and Constans Cæsar, and grandson to Constantine of Arles, as runs the Brudic tale of Britain; but son to Meirig prince of Dyved, son of Saint Tewdrig the Martyr, son of Teithvalt, son of Teithrin, son of Niniaw king of Graewg and Garth Mithein, if you will listen to the more shamefaced tale of the Legendaries who composed the British Acta Sanctorum. Any attempt to pourtray this historical monster would be an useless trouble. But as many people still believe in its real existence, some observations are requisite upon that head.

CHAP. IV.

MYTHOLOGICAL REIGN OF ARTHUR.—ATTRIBUTES OF THAT DEITY.—THE MONKISH IMPOSTURE AT GLASTONBURY.—MEDRAWD MYTHOLOGICAL.—NOT TWO ARTHURS.—ARTHUR IDENTICAL WITH HERCULES, AND CALLED HERCULES.—ATTILA THE OBJECT OF THE HONOURS PAID TO ARTHUR.—NATURE OF THE PRETENDED BATTLE OF CAMLAN AND OTHER SIMILAR BATTLES.—EXPOSURE OF BRAN'S HEAD.—ARTHUR SON OF ALGOTHUS.—DANIEL DREMRUDD.—THE HOBGOBLIN DYNASTY, ITS POLICY, AND DOWNFALL.

Aethai heb dant a çantawr
Ar goll hanes Arthur gawr.

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§ 1. It appears to be indisputable that a strong effort was made to preserve Britannia by her own resources, after the Romans had confessed themselves unequal to the task, and the effective support of the Saxons had been turned into enmity; and the moral and religious means employed for that purpose were as strange as the effort itself was desperate. If we think upon all that has been said or sung concerning Arthur, upon all that resounds

> In fable or romance of Uthyr's son
> Begirt with British and Armoric knights,

and also upon the solemn, fierce, and mystic strains in which that name and other kindred names are mentioned by the bardic fanatics, reason and general experience will teach us that such a superstructure,

however coloured with lies or adorned with inventions, was never raised but upon some suitable basis of reality. What were those who besieged and defended Troy, and Alexander, and Charlemagne, the greatest heroes of romance except Arthur, but the founders or destroyers of empires who changed the face of the world for ages? In their proportion, and as far as the magnitude of this country admits, the events which Arthurian romance commemorates must have been very great.

The name of Arthur is so great, that, *if such a man ever reigned in Britain*, he must have been a man as great as the circumscribed theatre of his actions could permit.

The poems contemporary with his supposed date describe him rather as an incarnate dæmon of polytheism than as a mere man. They appear to identify him with the Mars or god of war in their religion, and with the flood-king who[m] returned with seven, himself the eighth man, from the deluge or sea of Dylan. He is said to have contained one-ninth of the virtue of the firmament. It is Uthyr Pendragon who speaks, in the[n] following lines.

Am I not multitudinous in the din?
I have not desisted, between two hosts, without gore.
Am I not called[o] Gorlassar?
My belt, against my foes, was the rainbow.
Am I not a prince in darkness,
And my form, water round the two ends[p] of the basket?
Am I not, like the basket, begirt with gloom?
I have not desisted without gore, between two hosts.

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[m] See the Preiddeu Annwn.

[n] Marwnad Uthyr Pendr. Arch. Myvyr p. 72.

[o] i. e. the æther, or azure sky.

[p] The flood surrounding the ark, as I suppose.

Have I not protected my protector
In the undoing of the kindred of wrath?
Have I not habituated my fierce one to bloodshed,
Bold in the sword-stroke, in front of the sons of the giant-rampart?
Have I not imparted of[q] my protecting power
A ninth part in the prowess of Arthur?
Have I not stormed a hundred forts?
Have I not slain a hundred governors?
Have I not given a hundred veils?
Have I not cut off a hundred heads?
Did I not give unto Hen-pen
The great-sword of the very-great enchanter?
Did I not produce the crisis
When Iron-Door[r] came from the head of the mountain?

From a succeeding line it may be inferred, that Arthur was nothing less than the demiurge or immediate creator of the world,

Nid oedd vyd na bai vy eissillydd,
That the world existed not, was no fault of my offspring.

The great bear or constellation of the Seven Triones was his star in the heavens, and was exprest in his name Arth-ur, the Bear-aloft. The group of stars which the Romans called Lyra, and which was the lyre that Hermes gave to Apollo and he to Orpheus, was *the Lyre of Arthur*.

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[q] Literally, "my protector." By his *protector* I understand him to mean the divine power or energy which presides over warriors and gives victory to those whom it favours.

[r] Haiarndor e daeth o'r pen mynydd. The biographer of St. Augendus mentions that in the 5th century there was a temple in Gaul called Isarndor which he interprets Iron-Door, cit. Dom. Martin 1. 374. In the Mithriacal initiations the iron door designated Mercury. Origen Cels. vi. cit. ibid. Mercurius Mercator is termed the profit-bringing Iron-door, gwarthegawg Haiarndor. Arch. 1. p. 64. See above p. lxvii.

It has been observed that Llywarch Hên "speaks of[s] Arthur with respect but not with wonder," and that, while a certain chief called Geraint "is profusely celebrated with dignified periphrasis," Arthur "is simply mentioned as the commander and conductor of the toil of war." From thence Mr. Turner infers that he was a man but moderately esteemed in his own day. But the inference to which it leads me is rather, that no such man then lived. Ordinary praise was seldom bestowed upon the presiding spirits of heathenism. Mars was not brave, as Gyas and Cloanthus were. While mortals were extolled in proportion to their merit or to the motives for flattery, simple presidency or tutelage was ascribed to the Deities, to be exercised over men by each according to their respective attributes. If they were praised in hymns or direct invocations for their peculiar attributes, they were praised in respect of other gods to whom those attributes were respectively wanting. So the facundus nepos Atlantis was eloquent in comparison of Mars, Vulcan, etc., but could not be so termed in comparison of Demosthenes or Æschines. Arthur presided over the wars of Britannia as her Quirinus or Enyalius, and was placed out of all comparison with so minute and obscure a being as Geraint ap Erbin, whom the bard labours to magnify. The character of Arthur supreme and unpraised is Mavortian; and so an inference contrary to Mr. Turner's arises from the passage of Llywarch

> [t] In Llongborth was slain Geraint
> A brave warrior from the woodlands of Devon,
> Slaughtering his foes as he fell.

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[s] Turner Anglosax. 1. p. 275, 6. Edit. 4.

[t] See Owen's Llywarch. p. 8.

In Llongborth were slain unto Arthur,
Emperor, conductor of the labour,
Brave warriors who hewed down others with steel.

A strenuous assertor of Arthur, Sir J. Pryce, mentions[u] that Urien Reged, Cynddylan ap Cyndrwyn, and Cadwallon ap Cadvan who defeated the Northumbrians, are termed by the bards "warriors of Arthur," milites Arthuriani. But Cadwallon fought against Edwin not less than ninety years after the end of Arthur's period. It seems to follow, that the phrase is no more than an equivalent to that by which Archilochus described warriors, "servants of king Mars," θεραποντες 'Ενναλιοιο ἀνακτος. Arthur is that same being to whom the bards allude as the Bull of Conflict, King of the World, "Tarw Trin teyrn byd," and to whom in hyperbole they sometimes compare their heroes. Concerning him, Llywarch has a most explicit passage, which may help us to judge, whether he really meant to say that one Arthur had been his commanding officer at Llongborth, or that the deity "Sol Invictus Mithras" had been his tutelary god and Lord of Hosts. He was addicted to the mysteries even to the latest days of his Nestorean life and buried his last surviving son Gwen according to those rites,

"Sweetly sang the *birds* on the fragrant-blossom'd *apple-tree*,
Over the head of Gwen, ere he was covered with earth;"

yet alluding to Mecydd another son, who had received Christian burial in a monastery, he exclaims in the disgust of disappointed superstition,

[x] May it be better for his advantage
That he be left on the banks of the river,
With the assembly of grey men.

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[u] Hist. Brit. Defens. p. 123.

[x] See Owen's Llywarch p. 142.

The bull of conflict, guider of the war,
Support of the battle, bright elevated lamp,
Pervader of heaven, too long has he been listened to!

What odds are there betwixt the "conductor of the labour" and the "guider of the war"? The bull of conflict is also the bull of *Beli*, i. e. havoc or devastation, a title likewise transferred to violent warriors,

[y] Broken are the shields before the bellowing cattle of Beli.

The same dæmon becomes more plainly identified with Arthur as the *Bear of Violence*, Arth gwrys,

[z] They hack very much, they resort much to the sword,
Following the red footsteps of the dauntless bear of violence.

Gale's Nennius says, that the war was between the Saxons and the various kings of the Britons, but Arthur was their *dux bellorum;* and Marcus Eremita or Gunn's Nennius says that *Arthur belliger* led the soldiers and kings of Britannia into action and was twelve times *dux belli*, although many Britons were his superiors in rank. They were[a] aware that he was no king of the island. The words of Llywarch are as nearly as possible sufficient to assure us that the Sun or spirit of the Sun was honoured under the name of Arthur. But another poem of much antiquity will set that point at rest. In it, the ghost of Eliwlod of the Golden Tongue, son of Madoc, son of Uthyr Pendragon, appears to Arthur (in the form of an eagle upon an oak tree) and converses with him. He addresses him in these words,

Arthur arddercawg lamp rhe!
Arthur, exalted swiftly-moving lamp!

and this colloquy ensues between them.

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[y] Probert's Aneurin p. 7. [z] Ymarwar Mawr in Arch. 1. 31.
[a] Nennius a Gale c. 63. a Gunn p. 78.

A. Yr Eryr barabl divystyl
A'th ovynav heb gynvil,
Ai da cael gwasanaeth sul?

E. Gwasanaeth sul o cessi
A gras gan Duw gwedi,
Gwynvydedig wydd o honi.

A. Yr Eryr barabl divri
A'th ovynav dros Geli,
Pa beth ym, o bydda hebddi?

E. O byddi heb eiriau llên,
Di y sul, eb rhaid, eb angen,
Hyd yr ail sul na chward wen.

A. Eagle, not petulant in discourse,
Without offence I will ask thee,
Is it good for the sun to receive ministry?

E. If thou seekest the ministry of the sun
From God there is scorching heat hereafter,
The state of beatitude,[h] if otherwise.

A. Eagle, not flattering in discourse,
By the Mysterious-One I will ask thee,
What shall be mine, if I shall be without it?

E. If thou wilt be without a veil to thy refulgencies,
Thou shalt be the sun, saith necessity, saith destiny,
Until the other sun of no illusory lustre.

The author of these verses manifestly avows that Arthur is the sun, but he affects to reprobate the ulterior tenet of the Mithriacs, that the sun was God and the fit object of worship. It would be hard to dispute in face of such evidences, that Arthur was the Apollo Belenus of the Britons in the first half of the sixth century.

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[h] For this use of o honi see Psalm 38. *v.* 16.

§ 2. The Arthurian æra was one in the course of which the British frontier receded, and Hants, Somerset, and other districts passed for ever into the hands of the invader. It is not by suffering a series of severe defeats that any Saxon or other man conquers provinces. It is done by gaining successive victories. If Arthur lived and fought, he did so with a preponderance of ill success, and with the loss of battles and of provinces. But exaggeration must be built upon homogeneous truth. For a Cornish prince to be renowned through all countries and feigned a universal conqueror, he must really have been a hero in his own land and a signal benefactor to it. No man was ever deified in song for being vanquished and losing half a kingdom. But the God of war would retain his rank in any case. He might indeed be liable to such reproaches from time to time, as those which old Llywarch bestows upon him, or as the dying Bodvar directed against Odin, "I cannot see Odin, but I know that he is in their ranks. Oh! that any one would shew me that perfidious one, that I might pursue and seize him, that foul firebrand of hatred and enmity. Surely I would crush him like a mouse, and use him with all ignominy and disgrace." Subject, however, to these little indignities, the god of war would keep his station and preside over valiant acts, whether the results of war were fortunate or not. But the disasters of the British, historically and geographically certain as they are, make it also clear that they were commanded by no king fit for their bards to canonize.

§ 3. The constellated lyre of Apollo being styled in British astrology the Telyn Arthur nearly amounts to saying that Arthur is Apollo himself, such as he was said

Victori laudes concinuisse Jovi.

If not, he must have been at least an Orpheus or a Homer. Yet the

nation who placed his harp in the skies cherish no tradition of his poetical excellence. A Triad speaks of him as one of three "Irregular Bards," but his works may be inquired for in vain. Three wretched lines, consisting of a poetical triad, and rehearsing the names of three men, are ascribed to Arthur, and not wholly without reason. Some of the works of Apollo are extant, and are just of the same character as these three lines to which I shall allude again, viz. oracles. Arthur, though he is the bard of heaven itself and the stars of heaven are the golden strings of his harp, was an *unpraised* bard, while Aneurin's versification earned him the titles of Monarch of Bards and Bard of the Flowing Muse; the effect of which in this argument I have lately pointed out. Aneurin was to him in music as was Geraint ap Erbin in war.

§ 4. Its weight must not be denied to popular tradition. Before the time when Geoffrey published, even foreign nations delighted to rehearse the legends of Arthur; and, soon after it, when Gervas wrote, the common folk were persuaded that the forests of Caerleon and other parts of the island were haunted by Arthur's spirit attended by a host of dæmons. They did not believe this, because scholars had read of him in books. Such are not the sources of tradition among peasantry. But they continue to believe, even under an altered faith and religion, the things which they have heard with their ears and their fathers have declared unto them. A variety of places in the island bear the name of the hero. Some circular knolls are called his Round-Tables. A round tower is called Arthur's Oven and it was said that neither rain nor snow could fall within it. Mountains both in Wales and Scotland were termed Cadair Arthur, the Seat or Chair of Arthur, who was enthroned upon his high-places. These things, again, are not out of

books, but come down from the time when the system of Arthur was in act and energy.

§ 5. Besides three concubines, Arthur had three wives, and it was one of his peculiarities, that he married three women all of the same name, to wit, Gwenhwyvar daughter of Gwythyr ap Greidiawl, Gwenhwyvar daughter of Gawrwyd Ceint, and Gwenhwyvar daughter of Gogyrvan Gawr. Daniel Langhorne inverts the order of the two first, and says that the father of the last was a Pict. He particularly loved the second of them, and directed that she should be buried with him; but the third or Pictish one who betrayed him to Medrawd was buried at Amesbury. The three Gwenhwyvars, considered as characters in history, may take their place with les quatre Facardins. But the story is not ill-suited to the trimundane character of Apollo Belenus and bears some analogy to the tria virginis ora Dianæ. It would be strange if a king with three wives and three concubines had no posterity; but Arthur had none that obtain a place in history and are not mere creatures of mythology. The Monks of Llandaff had a story that one *Noah*[c] son of Arthur made them a grant of land, but whoever does but glance on this mythology must see how the name of that patriarch was introduced into his family. Mention is also made in the Mabinogion of *Lechau*[d] son of Arthur, "and there was nothing of which he did not know its material existence, and its property, whether of kind, or of part, or of quality, or of compound, or of coincidence, or of tendency, or of nature, or of essence, whatever it might be." Busy stirring times, for so much study, were those of his father Arthur. But we may dispose of him,

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[c] Sir J. Pryce Defensio p. 127.
[d] Tr. 70. p. 69. Cambro-Briton 2. p. 242.

by observing that the noun plural which serves him for a name means *Stone Tablets;* and the whole story amounts to this, that the doctrines and secrets of the Arthurists were engraved upon certain tables of stone. They are commemorated elsewhere as "the stones of Gwyddon" upon which all human knowledge was inscribed.

§ 6. Among the British princes who tyrannized in various parts of this island while Constantine son of Cador (who succeeded Arthur, and was a real king) was the brenin ar yr ynys, and all of whom Gildas vehemently reviles, there was a certain Cynglas, whom he thus accosts. "Why dost thou wallow in the ancient dregs of thine iniquity? thou, "who from thy earliest manhood upwards art a bear the[e] [destroyer] of "many people, and charioteer of the chariot which is the receptacle of "the Bear, contemner of God, Cynglas! red-haired butcher of the "Latin language." The first "bear" is a mere epithet of invective, but in the second it is distinctly implied that Cynglas set himself up for a high-priest of Arthur, steward of the Septem-Trional[f] mysteries, and Arctophylax to the Bear or Northern Wain. The chariot of the bear is the wain of the Triones in which "excepting seven none returned with Arthur." It is

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[e] *Sessor*, a word not found in Latin. Perhaps we should read cæsor, itself a bad word. Or is sessor put for qui sedere facit, who initiates many by the ceremony of *causing them to sit* in his currus ursi? Gild. Epist. p. 11.

[f] The Aurelian family established certain Mithriac lodges in Rome, who were called the Synodites of Apollo, and their mysteries the diapanton (malè diapandon) of Apollo. The synodites affected the name Aurelius. Under Commodus the "priest of the synod of Apollo" was styled Agilius *Septentrion.* Gruter Inscript. p. cccxxx. See p. cccxiii. As regards this island, it may just deserve mention that a poet of the age of Claudius Cæsar had these lines,

Brumalem sortita polum, quà frigida semper
Præfulget stellis Arctos inocciduis.

Ἄρκτος . . . ἣν καὶ ἁμαξαν ἐπικλησιν καλεουσιν,

. . . . . .

Οἵη δ' ἀμμορος ἐστι λοετρων Ὠκεανοιο. *Homer.*

Its immunity from the submerging waters of the Oceanus made the northern wain a just symbol for the Ark. The ordinary name of that constellation in Welsh is llun y llong, *the image* or *representation of the ship*. From this passage of Gildas we learn, that the mystic orgies of the spirit of the Great Bear were already completely organized, and ministered to by princes, in the brief reign of that sovereign who succeeds in the list of kings to the pretended Arthur, and within two years of his supposed disappearance from the field of Camlan. It is no idle vagary or flattering jargon of the bards, but a fact publicly notorious at the time and historically recorded. Yet if Arthur was a real man who lost his life in the battle of Camlan, it is morally certain that he could neither have been a very great man nor at all a fortunate one; and he could never have become *in his own lifetime* an object of superstitious adoration. It seems to follow, that Arthur's immediately antecedent *reign* can only be intended to signify the æra of the complete establishment of his gloomy ritual upon the ruins of British Christianity.

§ 7. The respectable Alfred of Beverley winds up the history by *Britannicus* (as he terms the anonymous Brud) by saying,[s] "I am filled with no small perplexity, why neither the history of the Romans nor that of the Angles says anything of the celebrated king Arthur." Well he might be so. The Saxon Chronicle does not suppress the names of islanders with whom the Saxons had to deal, but mentions those of Vortigern, Natanleod, Aidan, Brochvael, Geraint, Constantine of Scots, and Cadwallon. Its author betrays no knowledge

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[s] Alured. Beverlac. 5. p. 76.

of Arthur's existence. The Venerable Beda either never heard of it or despised it as a fable. Florence of Worcester was a profest chronologist, who introduced the reckoning of Dionysius the Little, and a more critical historian than some of his time; but in his account of years he does not vouchsafe any place for the names of Ambrosius and Arthur, which must have been sufficiently familiar to his ears. The works of Gildas now make and, as extant in Geoffrey's day, did make mention of no such person as Arthur. Two reasons have been adduced for Gildas suppressing the name of a sovereign, of whose whole reign he had been an eye-witness. One is, that Caw his father[h] was the same person as Gawolan father-in-law of Medrawd; and the other, that Arthur had offended him by killing[i] his brother Hoel, and that he therefore flung into the sea all the books he had composed in praise of Arthur. If the facts were true, which nobody will avouch, they still furnish no reason for such a departure from common practice, and especially the practice of Gildas, as to pass over in silence a man, whom he might have abused with impunity. The reason why Gildas did not mention his deceased sovereign was that he never had any such.

§ 8. The Round Table of Arthur is declared to have been a similitude of the World; and the twelve knights seated round its circumference represent the twelve signs of the ecliptic. The twelve great victories gained by Arthur, "the guider of the war, the support of the battle, the bright elevated lamp," of which twelve the last was at the hill above Caer Badon or the *Aquæ Solis*, are the twelve Zodiacal entries of the sun and the twelve labours of Hercules. The Perilous Seat which was reserved in *the centre* of the round table, but in which Arthur never

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[h] Rowland's Mona Ant. p. 185.

[i] Giraldus de Illaudabilibus Walliæ c. 2. p. 448. ed. Wharton.

ventured to place himself, signifies to us the private belief of the Druidists in a code of astronomy different from that which they published, but one of which they deemed the establishment essential to the secure enthronization of Apollo Belenus.

Though Arthur was "the bull of conflict . . . . . the bright elevated lamp," though he was the Sun, he was not that luminary (and Eliwlod intimates as much) heb eiriau llên, "without a veil to his refulgencies." He was not the Ambrosian Aurelius, the golden vivifying sun in heaven, but the incarnate Mithras in the llun y llong or unsubmerged and floating wain; and it is consequently a title applicable to the god as sojourning in the infernal regions (to which his[k] vessel conveyed him), and upon earth afterwards, when he emerged from his "quadrangular enclosure" and shook off "the heavy blue chain." Though the name Arthur may seem to express the vessel literally, it undoubtedly signifies the man-god who navigated the same; for if the arth-ur or bear-aloft were simply the llun y llong, independent of its captain, it must have been said "excepting *eight* none returned with Arthur." Yet, where we read that Noah was the son of Arthur, the latter name denotes merely the *llong* or *ship*, the *wain* or *currus*, and the former is the great captain of the llong, and the "auriga currûs receptaculi ursi," proceeding from out thereof.

The hero Arthur is the terrestrial Apollo, Mithras the warrior, robber, huntsman, and king; but his descent into the prison with the strong door, and his mournful labours therein, transform him into the

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[k] See Athenæus xi. s. 16. s. 38. Schweigh. Macrobius *L.* 5. c. 21. Hercules sailed over the Ocean in the goblet or cauldron of the Sun to bring home the oxen of Geryon; but those were the Seven "Triones" or "Yoked Oxen" of the Wain and should rather be said to have towed *him* home. See Varro L. L. p. 95. Festus in Septem Triones.

subterranean Apollo who is Dis. Duly to appreciate Neo-Druidism, it is necessary to consider the doctrine of Neo-Pythagorism (another Mithriac sect, if not quite the very same) as expounded by Porphyry its grand-master, in his volume[1] entitled *the Sun*. "The virtue of Apollo is triple, for he is the Sun in heaven, and upon the earth he is father Liber, and he is Apollo in the infernal regions; for which reason his images are adorned with three insignia, the lyre, which is an image of the celestial harmony, the griffin, which indicates terrestrial god-head, and the arrows, by which he is pronounced to be an infernal and noxious god." Subject to this modification of the great Alter et Idem, the legend of Arthur is that of Aurelius Ambrose reiterated.

Emmrys was a bard and a magician according to the Bardic system and also named Merddin; but Merddin Emmrys was not a king. The Bruts and Histories however deny that name to the bard Merddin, and transfer it to a victorious monarch, son (as they feign) to the Roman emperor Constantinus. King or no king, he was Arthur essentially, though not formally. Arthur was begotten of a woman styled Eigyr, i.e. the Virgin, in the midst of magical illusions, by a personage styled the Terrible One with the Dragon's Head, aided by the black art of Merddin Emmrys; and when his time was out he sailed away in a magic boat to an enchanted isle, from whence he was expected to return. Merddin Emmrys was begotten by Satan on the body of a virgin for the express purpose of subverting the religion of Jesus Christ, and when his mission was ended he sailed away in a floating house, and no man knew whither he was gone.

§ 9. Caradoc Vreichbras was one of the three cadvarchogion or

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[1] Porphyr. Sol. cit. Serv. Virg. Eclog. 5. *v.* 66.

knights of battle under Arthur. The life of Saint Padarn [m] says that king Caradoc Vreichbras conquered the entire isle of Britannia and Armorica. Cawrdaf his son was, according to the Triads, one of the sovereigns of Britain elected by vote of the whole country. But no space can be found for the supremacy of Caradoc and his son Cawrdaf, except in that which is vulgarly allotted to Arthur. During some part of that turbulent period, Caradoc and his son were the principal depositaries of the Arthurian power. Their ceasing to be such, may have induced Iddawg Corn Prydain, son of Cawrdaf and grandson of Caradoc, to turn against that power, and lend his efficient aid to its subversion; for we read that disclosures made by him destroyed Arthur's reign.

§ 10. It being taken for certain, that Arthur, whatsoever he was, was some person or some thing of high importance, he could not have been that for which he passes, an heroic king of all Britain, and have really lost his crown, and departed this world, in a great and disastrous battle for ever fatal to British independence, without the same tradition which recorded that battle being distinct and unanimous as to the country in which it was fought. What Roman could fail to recognize the plains of Pharsalia, what Burgundian those of Nancy, or what Swedishman those of Pultawa? The Bruts affirm that Arthur's fatal conflict with Medrawd the Pict and his Saxon confederates took place at Camlan, which we are given to suppose was near Camelford, in Cornwall. The Mort d'Arthur and the more ancient romances from which it is derived assign the great plain of Salisbury, near the Stonehenge, for its theatre. While Veremond (one of those

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[m] Cit. le Baud. Hist Bretagne p. 66.

Scottish chroniclers of Iona, of whom Hector Boece has been surmised with illiberality, and unquestionable[n] falsehood, to have invented the names) maintained that it was fought on the banks of the Humber in Deira, and that Gwenhwyvar was carried prisoner to Dumbarton in Pictland, where she died. The legend was so rife and popular, at the time when the calumniated Hector Boece wrote, that the women of Dumbarton were afraid to walk over the pretended grave of Arthur's queen, lest their wombs should become barren like hers. It was a battle fought in nubibus between the phantoms created by Bardic metaphor, and mythologists may lay the scene of it where it best pleases them. But it would have been otherwise, had he been indeed one of their fortes animæ belloque peremptæ. In that case, methinks it could equally ill have been a matter of controversy, whether he was the grandson of Constantinus who reigned at Arles over Gaul Spain and Britain, or whether he was son to the petty Demetian prince Meirig ap Tewdrig.

§ 11. It is remarkable that neither the veneration of his faithful Britons nor the repentant piety of his kinsfolk who betrayed him should have erected either pagan cairn or Christian gravestone to mark where the famous Arthur is laid. In Taliesin's poem the Graves of the Warriors, the 44th stanza is in these extraordinary words,

> The grave of the horse, the grave of the Fierce-One,
> The grave of Gwgawn[o] red-sword,
> The grave of Arthur, a mystery of the world.

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[n] David Chambers, in his Hist. Abr. des Rois de France Angleterre et Ecosse, cites two passages of Veremond which are not in Boece. fol. 228, b. Veremond's Book of the Historians of Scotland was dedicated to Malcolm III. in 1076 ibid. His Scotorum Antiquitates is said to have been written about 1090. He was much indebted to an earlier author called Marcerius. Dempster Hist. Eccl. 467. 685.

[o] Dr. Owen (on the authority of Triads 29 and 66 series 1.) made Gwgawn Cleddyvrudd a distinct person, who distinguished himself in A. D. 603. The same

The name Gwgawn is formed from gwg, frowning, or grim-visaged. The title Gwyth-wr, the fierce man (or fierce warrior) is applied to Arthur by Pendragon in his Dirge *v.* 11,

Neur orddevnais i waed a'm wythwr?

and in another dark effusion entitled the Song of Horses,[p]

A ninefold protection
Is the return in old age
Of the horse of the field
Qualified to advance,
The horse of the *Fierce-One*,
The horse of the prohibitor,
The horse of Arthur
Bold in bestowing care.

The immediately preceding stanzas of the Graves are upon Elphin (a creature not less ideal than Arthur) and will shew in what spirit he was writing and how far his words are to be accepted in a plain and natural meaning.

ST. 42.

Is not my groan for Elphin?
For a proof of my bardic mysticism
Primordial above those who are first,
Rhuvawn's grave is the dominator's portion.

ST. 43.

Is not my groan for Elphin?
For a proof of my bardic mysticism
Above the foremost primordial,
Earthy is the grave of the very young Rhuvawn.

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gentleman in the same volume said, that one Braint was distinguished in 633, and was the son of Nevydd ap Grenig ap Garanog ap Digar ap Cwnws ap Rhychwain ap Gwgawn Cleddyvrudd. Seven generations in thirty years! Cambr. Biogr. in *Braint* and *Gwgan*.

[p] Arch. Myv. 1. 44.

Besides their general style, the superadded titles Rhuvawn (the Reddened) and Gwgawn mark the similar character of the three stanzas, a character mystical in the extreme. William of Malmsbury had heard of two sepulchres, one at Dover, and one in South Wales, both said to contain the bones of Sir Gawain ; but the grave of Arthur he says [q] nowhere appears, sed Arthuri sepulcrum nusquam visitur. In the ensuing century that deficiency was in some sort provided for, and his works interpolated, so as to place him in direct contradiction with himself.

It is alleged for certain proof that Arthur was a real king and no fabulous creature, that in 1172[r] when Henry II. returned from Ireland (though others [s] say it was done in 1189) he caused his nephew Henry de Sailly abbot of Glastonbury to make search for his remains in a place which a bard had pointed out to him during his stay at Pembroke. He accordingly found them buried in a hollow tree sixteen foot under ground, being of proportions nearly gigantic, and by the side of the king lay his wife, conspicuous even in the last stage of decay for her golden tresses. Seven foot under ground, and nine foot above the skeletons, there was a thin cruciform plate of lead thus inscribed, *Hic jacet sepultus inclitus rex Arturius in insulâ Avaloniâ*. Adam of Domerham, and Leland who examined the plate "curiosissimis oculis," bear witness to these words, and the fac-simile of the plate itself which is contained in most editions of Camden confirms their exactitude. The original is supposed to have been lost when

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[q] De Gestis Regum p. 115.

[r] Hist. and Ant. Glast. in Hearne Glast. p. 156.

[s] Leland cit. ibid.

the Abbey was dissolved. It is a clumsy piece of work with the letters thus arranged.

HIC IA
CET S
EPV
LTVS ◦ INCL
ITVS ◦ REX
ARTV
RIV
S ◦ IN
INSV
LA ◦ AV
ALO
NI
A
◦

This I hope, says Rowlands in his Mona, will be sufficient to convince my readers that there was such a person as king Arthur. If this tale be a true one, Arthur must undoubtedly be permitted to take his place in history. But we may discern in it every mark of an unskilful fiction practised in the cloisters of Glastonbury, otherwise notorious enough for their legends and their miracles.

The omission of the H in Arthur formed from Arth, a bear, is contrary to the orthography[t] of the British tongue and the cotemporary authority of Llywarch and Taliesin. But it agrees with the French and Latin pronunciation as it would be used by a Norman Abbot in the twelfth century.

The portentous tales then in circulation respecting the birth of Arthur might deter the Benedictines from inserting any filiation;

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[t] See L. Morris in Camb. Reg. 2. p. 283.

but the absence of any such does not improve the credit of the monument.

The word Rex was sufficient to meet the ideas of the Norman English. But it hardly suffices for the grave of Arthur. Britannia abounded in kings, some say to the number of[u] two hundred, and certainly to a considerable number. There were kings of Gwynedd, of Dyved, of Caredigion, of Cerniw, of Reged etc. Over all these it was usual to elect one paramount monarch. That supreme rank was denoted by several[v] styles, such as brenin coronawg, the crowned king, unben Prydain, the one head of Britain, brenin Prydain oll, king of all Britain,[w] and brenin ar yr ynys, king over the island. The monument placed in honour of Cadvan at the time of his elevation alludes to his election by and out of the college of kings, Catamanus rex sapientissimus opinatissimus *omnium regum*. So that the words rex Arturius give no adequate idea of the rank and condition which the authors meant to describe.

It is reasonable and usual to give people credit for knowing where they are; because a man who is reading a grave-stone in Somerset does not suppose he is reading one in Middlesex. The usage of grammar also repudiates the expression of the place by name after using the demonstrative adverb *hic*. We therefore do not meet with such epitaphs as "*Here* lieth John Styles *in the Isle of Purbeck*." Yet the epitaph of Arthur is composed in that fashion, *Here* lieth buried the famous king Arthur *in the Isle of Avallon*. It is easy to

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[u] Jones's answer to Tate, p. 222, 3. ed. Hearne.

[v] See Hywel Dda 2. c. 19. Mabinogion part 1. cit. Edw. Llwyd.

[w] The Saxon princes, whose superiority was to some extent, and from time to time, admitted by the other heptarchs, were not styled Seaxwealdas but Bretwealdas, and the dignity to which they aspired was the unbennaeth Prydain.

read what was passing in the conscience of the Glastonian Benedictines. The fable of Arthur was ended, or interrupted, by his aphanismus, his retirement into a mysterious and enchanted isle, where he remained alive but wounded, his wound being annually cured, and ever breaking out afresh on the anniversary day of his receiving it. Gervas of Tilbury[x] nephew to Henry II. terms it the Isle of Damalis, that is, of the sacred cow or heifer worshipped in the mysteries of those Druidists. Others termed it the Ynys Avallon or Isle of the Apple Tree; the apple tree being a term equally significant in those dark initiations, as plainly appears in the Avallenau or *Song of Apple Trees* by the raving fanatic Merddin of Celyddon. It was the general belief in Wales and Brittany that he had never seen death, but would one day return alive from Avallon, whence the French[y] proverb against chimerical hopes, espoir Breton, or esperance Bretonne. Joseph of Exeter (in the reign of Henry II.) said, "thus the ridiculous belief and credulous error of the Britons is waiting for Arthur and may wait until doomsday,"

Arturum expectat expectabitque perenne.

Peter[z] of Blois at the same period composed these monkish verses,

Quibus si credideris
Expectare poteris
Arturum cum Britonibus.

The doctrine of Arthur in the gardens of the fairy Morgan his sister, who (as Gervas says) "by the continual application of fresh remedies heals his annually recrudescent wound," is the pagan legend concern-

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[x] De Regno Brit. p. 48.

[y] Troubadours, ed. St. Palaye. 1. 34. 3. 101.

[z] Ep. 57. cit. de La Rue Bardes Arm. p. 51.

ing Memnon son of Aurora and Adonis (or, as Egypt styled him, Osiris) son of Myrrha, with scarce any change or modification. But the fortunate isle or paradise of the goddess was connected in the minds of the heretics of the sixth century, with the Paradise of Holy Writ. The Avallon of the British was the Irish Flathinnis, primarily Isle of Heroes, and secondarily Isle of Heaven, called likewise[a] Avallghort, the Garden of Apples. The authors of the Bruts, neither purposing to offend nor to proclaim such a prevalent but heathenish superstition, merely say, that Arthur was conveyed to Avallon to be *cured* of his *mortal* wound, and resigned his crown in favour of Constantine the Cornish prince. But as to whether he *was* cured, or not, and when he died, or whether he ever died at all, Tysilio had the prudence to say never a word.

The inconsistency of curing a mortal wound does not offend against the notions to which the British had addicted themselves. For their evil thoughts were probably directed to this verse of Revelations, And I saw one of his heads as it were wounded to death, and *his deadly wound was healed*, and all the world wondered after the beast. The Bards had a spurious or interpolated Apocalypse, which would elucidate this point, could we meet with it.

It so happens that the Vale of Glastonbury, being in fact a vast orchard of Apple Trees, and also a considerable sanctuary of the Neo-Druidists before it was held by Catholic Benedictines, was called Avallonia or Ynys Avallon. It was therefore obvious enough to apply these romantic fables (how

Νησοις ἐν μακαρων σε φασιν ἐιναι)

to the real site of Glastonbury. The Abbot and his people argued

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[a] See Edw. Llwydd Etymologicum.

thus. "We know that a Bardic tradition has handed down, that Arthur sailed away to Ynys Avallon, but this place *is* Avallonia, and so, the fact will agree with the tradition." But they had the weakness to betray their thought by composing an argumentative epitaph, against the usages of grammar and principles of common sense.

This solution may possibly be offered. The sepulture of the dead man in hallowed ground was not incompatible with an expectation of his return. It is expected that the Saints shall come again and reign upon earth, by persons who no-wise dispute their death and burial. And so the Avallon of the false prophets might only be the consecrated place of his interment where (as Llywarch said of his son's funeral) the *birds on the apple-tree* sweetly sang his dirge. My best reply is, that, if it might be so, it was not. When the Armoricans heard of the discovery at Glaston, all their hopes and expectations of Arthur[b] were destroyed. Such is the fact. And in their grief, and for its consolation, they bestowed the name of Arthur upon their young prince who was born in 1187; whereas some few years before (when Alanus[c] de Insulis was writing) they abused and were ready to stone any person who believed in his death.

I have little scruple in rejecting this epitaph, as a sorry specimen of monastic ingenuity. I will merely add, that ten visible wounds are pretty many for a man to receive in his skull, and afterwards be conveyed alive one hundred miles (or thereabouts) from Camelford to Glastonbury! And, that a rotten tree and a thin plate of lead form a portable mausoleum, well adapted to the use of such Antiquaries as are most sure of finding what they seek. Our suspicions will be confirmed

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[b] Lobineau Hist. Bretagne 1. p. 172.

[c] Alanus de Proph. Merlini p. 17.

by finding that lies have been invented and forgeries committed in support of this tale.

Giraldus Cambrensis,[d] observing that the inscription was not a fair and full invoice of the articles discovered, was so impudent as to say that he had read these words upon the plate, Hic jacet sepultus inclitus rex Arthurus in Insulâ Avaloniâ *cum Weneveriâ uxore suâ secundâ*. This is open to three remarks, of which the two latter are supernumerary. 1. It is a lie, contradicted by more respectable witnesses, and by the extant fac-simile. 2. It is founded on the silly Triadical fable of the three Gwenhwyvars, and of the second of the three, the daughter of Gawrwyd, being buried with him. 3. Gwenhwyvar is not well expressed in Latin by Weneveria; the Neo-Druids who buried Arthur would have written it Wenuovara.

The Benedictines were glad of the occasion to add another venerable relique to the various marvels of their Abbey. But the English government had larger and more statesman-like motives for the solemn sanction it gave to this fraud. The peaceful submission of the Welsh princes to the superiority of their Norman masters could no way be so effectually promoted, as by proving the entire vanity and falsehood of the Bardic legends and popular superstition; and especially of the famous and mischievous predictions ascribed to Merddin Ambrose. Giraldus even declares that some such motives induced him to write the lying narrative just above cited. "Since concerning King Arthur and his death many things are doubtfully reported and fabulously invented by the tribes of the Britons, who contend foolishly that he still lives, I have taken care to subjoin hereto some facts

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[d] Spec. Eccles. Dist. 2. c. 11. ms. cit. Langhorne Chron. p. 94. Price Defens. p. 129.

ascertained by indubitable verity, in order that the reality of this matter may hereafter be clearly apparent, the things which are true and certain established, and the things fabulous exploded." Then he states that, "after the Battle of Camlan, Arthur being mortally wounded was carried to Insula Avalonia, now Glaston, by a noble matron his kinswoman by name Morgain le Faye, and afterwards, dying, was buried by her. Therefore the fabling Britons and their minstrels feigned, that Morganis, a fantastic goddess, took him to the Isle of Avalon to heal his wounds, and that when he was healed he should return to rule the Britons, for they expect him as the Jews do their Messiah." The king his master, (in that same journey through Pembrokeshire, after which the search was instituted) made it evident that he was aware of the mischief. Across the river Alun lay a stone called the Llechlavar, or speaking stone, and the Ambrosian prophecies had said, that an English king returning from the conquest of Ireland should be slain on that stone. Henry passed over it with a slow and deliberate step, and then cried aloud, "Who will henceforth give[e] credit to the lying Merddin?" I have no doubt that Henry's visit to Wales and Ireland *was* the cause of the discovery in Somersetshire.

As the story is made up, a Welsh bard at Pembroke indicated the place of sepulture to Henry and his followers, by stating in his song, that two small pyramids were erected over the spot. The Abbot, in consequence, dug under the pyramids, and found what he sought. That tale is in itself sufficient to blast the whole narrative. For the pyramids were[f] inscribed with the names of the persons to or by whom

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[e] Sir R. C. Hoare's Giraldus 2. p. 8.

[f] See Leland's Assertio fol. 23. b.

they were dedicated; and those were palpably the names of certain Anglo-Saxons, viz. Winewegn, Walfred, Eanfled, Beorwald etc. This leads me to observe upon the interpolation of William of Malmsbury. That author avers in his History that the place of Arthur's burial was and continued to be entirely unknown; but in his Glastonian Antiquities he is made to say, "I will not enlarge upon the famous Arthur king of the Britons who was buried in the cemetery of the Monks with his wife, between[g] the two pyramids, nor upon various other princes of the Britons." If this passage were not in direct contradiction with the other, it would be no less impossible for William to have written a word of it: because the grave of Arthur was not discovered for more than twenty years after his death!

So far as this story goes, king Arthur must remain with a great name but without a local habitation; while the general acquiescence of the Welsh and Cornubians in such a story seems to prove that Bardic learning afforded them no tradition of his real sepulture, and therefore leaves his pretensions to be a real man rather worse off, than they were before the busy cœnobites meddled in their behalf. Sir R. Colt Hoare[h] quotes a story out of Caxton's Chronicle, that the tomb of Arthur was found in Ross in South Wales, A. D. 1082, and that his body was fourteen foot long. I do not know the book thus cited, but if Caxton says so, he has quite blundered the matter, of which there is an account in William of Malmsbury. The grave in Ross was that of Gawain and not Arthur, and fourteen foot was the length of the sepulchre, and not of the man. That place of sepulture still exists under the name of St. Gowen's chapel.

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[g] G. Malm. Ant. Glast. p. 306. Gale.
[h] Ancient S. Wilts p. 245. Caxton ibid.

" The grave of Arthur (said Taliesin) a mystery *of the world.*" The Bruts, which introduce the two brother kings Aurelius Ambrosius and Uthyr Pendragon, poison them both, and bury them both in the Cor Gawr or Stonehenge. The poisoner of Ambrosius is styled Eppa i. e. the Ape. Their eppa was a mysterious character of unknown import, mentioned by the bards in connexion with their mundane rampart or *govur byd;* " heb eppa, heb henvonva, heb govur byd." But Taliesin in his Dirge of Pendragon (which clearly shews that personage to have been a great deity of the world-worshippers) gives him these words,

Let my tongue, to rehearse the dirge,

Be from out of the stone-constructed rampart *of the world,*

the same which he had previously termed cawrmur or the giant-rampant, and he proceeds to describe the dragon moving in a circle among *the immense stones.* It is therefore most probable, that the only tombs of Arthur are the circles of great stones representing the mystery of the world; and that his sepulture therein is the same as his imprisonment *for three nights*[1] in the prison of Gwen Pendragon and other mystic prisons. Such sepulture is but a well-known stage of transition in the rites of apotheosis, and does not signify that any real man's bones were there deposited. The Preiddeu Annwn imme diately after mentioning the last of Arthur's mystic voyages, or his mystic voyage under its last appellation, (I say *immediately,* his abuse of the monks for contradicting his tenets being a mere parenthesis) thus intimates to us the ideal nature of Arthur's sepulture;

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[1] See Triad 50 ser. 1. 49. ser. 2 in Cambro-Briton 2. 194. The three nights are borrowed from the mythology of Hercules.

When we went with Arthur into the mournful conflict
Excepting seven none returned from Caer Ochren.

. . . . . .

The grave of the Holy-One is vanishing! from the grave of the altar
(Or, as it may be rendered, "from the grave[j] of the cauldron")
I will worship the Gwledig, the great noble-one.

§ 12. The reality of Medrawd son of Leo, who betrayed Arthur and gave him his deadly wound, seems to me almost as questionable as his own. That famous person was "so mild[k] and placid, and so "pure in his discourse, that it would be difficult for any one in "the world to refuse or deny what he asked." Gwalchmai says to Madoc of Powys,

[l] The dread of thee hath penetrated
To the extremities of the world,
As the mightiness of Arthur,
The intellect of Medrawd.

In the Avallenau of Merddin Wyllt it is said by that nearly or quite cotemporary bard, "My prophecy shall announce the coming again "of Medrawd and of Arthur protector of the multitude; they prepare "for the battle of Camlan, it shall then be a Thursday, and excepting "seven none shall escape from the meeting. Then let Gwenhwyvar "reflect, after her over-weening arrogance, when an ecclesiastical "dignitary is the commander." This prophecy is very analogous to the Sibyl's iterum ad Trojam magnus mittetur Achilles; and when we meet with Arthur's namyn saith, *excepting seven*, we know that we are on hallowed ground, and that the words we hear are not of a

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[j] Allawr, an altar; callawr in syntax allawr, a cauldron; o bedd allawr ambiguous.

[k] Triad 118. ser. 3.

[l] Arch. Myvyr. 1. 200.

plain import. The names of their wives Gwen-hwy-var, *the Lady of the Vast Extension*, and Gwen-hwy-vach, *the Lady of the Circumscribed Extension*, are clearly[m] invented in reference to each other, and in a theosophic sense. The air and the earth appear to me to be implied. Medrawd can scarcely stand in a better relation to history than Arthur does.

It has been the endeavour of Dr. Owen and the later assertors of Arthur to uphold him, by distinguishing a mythological Arthur from the historical. But the language of the Avallenau, one of the works most nearly approaching to the date of his reign, clearly identifies the historical king (if such he be) who married Gwenhwyvar, fought against the Saxons, was betrayed by Medrawd, and overthrown at Camlan, with the Arthur of the Preiddeu Annwn and other dark mythologies.

§ 13. Mr. Davies constantly maintained that Noah was signified by Arthur, to which he was led by various allusions to his presence and achievements during the great deluge, without paying sufficient regard to his warlike, sanguinary, and most unpatriarchal attributes. Dr. Owen conjectured that he was Nimrod the Hunter, but failed to explain his voyage in the ark. The third of Noah's surviving sons preserved through the flood, and revived after it, the heathenism of the Antediluvians, and found an early occasion for introducing and combining the Bacchic and Ithyphallic mysteries. He was the Jove of the apostate patriarchs and of their divided posterity the gentiles.

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[m] This relation of the two names is fatal to Mr. Davies's opinion that the former is a mutation from bar, a summit. The same relation of ideas occurs in Trystan son of *Tallwch* i. e. *wide expansion* and his mistress Essyllt daughter of *Culvynawyd* i. e. the *narrowly extending*.

His grandson Nimrod was the Hercules of Greece and Mithras of Persia. But, though really the son of his eldest son, he was credited to be his own son, not by nature indeed, but by the incubation of his deified spirit, when he visited his temple of Jupiter Belus in the form of the lascivious dragon. In the obscure Dirge of Pendragon, the conception of Arthur by the congress of the dragon and the priestess *Eigyr* (i. e. *the Virgin*), "gravida Arturo fatali fraude Iogerne," is faintly shadowed out by Taliesin.

> My side moving round the Caer,
> While the Caer is anxious,
> And the writing[n] is excessive,
> And the fair one retreats before it
> On to the veil covering the huge stones,
> The dragon whirling round
> Over the places of the vessels of choice liquor, etc.

The visit of Jove and Mercury to the chamber of Alcmena in the assumed likeness of her husband Amphitryon and his servant Sosia, and the visit of Uthyr Pendragon and Merddin to that of Eigyr in the forms of her husband Gorloes and his servant Brithvael are not casual similitudes but amount to a case of identity. They are as much as to say outright that Arthur is Hercules son of Jove. There seems to be some reason for thinking that, in the Herculean divinity, in the magnum Jovis incrementum, the grandfather Saturn was made to reappear and the characters of the sage navigator of the flood and the proud king of men united in one. For such is the best construction which has yet been put upon the Eleusinian verse, "the Bull was father of the Dragon and again the Dragon was father of the Bull."

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[n] Rhy yscriviad. Probably some telegraphic oracle, some mimic urim and thummim. Whatever it alludes to, it is astonishing that Mr. Davies should have rendered it "the gliding king."

The identity of the god Arthur with Hercules appears in the borrowed details of Arthur's procreation; and there also exists a short poem upon his departure from this mortal state of existence, in which the Martial Mithras of the Britons is called by the very name of Hercules. It is nearly[o] as follows.

THE DIRGE OF HERCULES.

Ominous become the elements
Like night in the day-time,
For the coming, in much glory,
Of Hercules the head of baptism.
Hercules would say,
"Death is no great evil;
"On the shield of the sea-shores,
"Even on him it may burst."
Hercules was of constant mind,
And strenuous, in his madness.
Four columns of equal length
With ruddy gold on their whole length
Are the columns of Hercules,
In enterprise no braggard,
No braggard in challenging.
The sun's warmth of no partial expansion
Pure goeth even unto heaven;
So far forth goeth he,
Hercules sword-smiter of the rampart.
A small matter marks the sand,
And a small matter gives us the Trinity
Merciful in the day of doom.

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[o] Arch. Myvyr. 1. p. 69.

[p] The cabalistic triad, which they often alluded to by the name of Trindawd, and which might be confounded with or distinguished from Christianity, as suited their occasions.

If any one could imagine that this was a classical exercise upon the Hercules of Greek mythology, and not a fellow to Pendragon's Dirge of Arthur, the fourth of the above lines would suffice to set him right.

The Little Mysteries of Eleusis consisted of the ceremony of the initiation of Hercules; and Taliesin's poem the Throne or Royal Chair, in which Arthur is introduced to some awful personage who blesses him ar gerdd gyvænad, i. e. according to the firmly cemented compact of the bards, may be referred to the little mysteries of the *Apollinares Mystici*. I conceive that Heilyn, the person whose benediction is to abide with Arthur "when his face meets the battle," is that same Gorlassar or ætherial heaven,

"Id sublime candens quem invocant omnes Jovem,"

who says in his Dirge, from out of the stone-built mundane rampart and giant-rampart, gwrthgloddiad byd and cawrmur, "did I not give unto Hen-pen the great-sword of the very-great enchanter?" In Eastern language, it is the benediction of Mithras by his father Oromazdes.

The award of the glorious song
Of immeasurable inspiration,
Concerning the warrior with two authors,
Of the generation of the slayer,
And his cow-pen, and his rampart,
And his swift invaders,
And his regulating king,
And his [q] scriptural number,
And his empurpling redness,
And his impulse over the rampart,
And his suitable throne
Among the retinue of the rampart.

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[q] His cabalistic number i. e. the abraxas and other cabala connected with it. Arch. 1. p. 65.

Verily he is brought from the giant-rampart,
The driver of the pale horses,
The royal, the ancient,
Heilyn giver of food,
The widely-displayed, of commanding wisdom,
That he may bless Arthur.
Be Arthur blessed
According to the cemented bardic union,
And his face in the battle
When it tumultuates around him!

We have some knowledge of this person from Gwyddnau Garanhir or whoever wrote in his name,

Goruc clod Heilyn bendefig awyrdwl;
Hyd brawd parahawd y ertyvwl.
Supreme the glory of Heilyn, the air-enshrouding lord;
Till doomsday endureth he, the vegetative.

Erasmo di Valvasone in his poem of *The Chase* fully describes Arthur's initiation into all the mysteries[r] of the three worlds, which took place when he was out hunting in a forest, and pursued a hind *to a mount, situated in a plain, and covered with stones arranged in giro, circularly.*

If haply thee thy stars should ever light,
In chase with Arthur's lofty hind to meet,
Whose beauteous horns with rubies were bedight,
And hoofs of sounding iron to her feet,
And skin, like Frixus' ram and Helle's, bright
With hairs of purest gold, Oh! how complete
Were thy beatitude, should heaven allot
Some path for thee into her secret grot.

La Caccia 4 st. 141.

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[r] This series of mundane initiations constitutes *τα διαπαντων* of the Synodites of Apollo, of which Aurelius Apolaustus of Memphis was the priest, and the high-priest of the synod itself, under M. Aurelius. Gruter cccxiii.

At the end of his sojourn in the infernal chambers, where he was initiated, he received from his sister Morgana the sword Excalibar. The Little Mysteries were held at a place called Agræ i. e. the Chaces or Huntings, because Diana and the murdered huntsman Myuns (seemingly an Eleusinian title of Hercules) used there to hunt together. The spirits of Arthur and his knights used to haunt the woods of Britannia and Armorica pursuing a goblin chase, and alarming the neighbourbood with the baying of their hell-hounds, *the dogs of Annwn* or of the Abyss; as the Wild Jager does in Germany, and as Hercules did in the mountains of Sambulus in Assyria. "The foresters and game-keepers of Great Britain (saith Gervas[s] of Tilbury) declare that, upon alternate days, at noon, and in the first stillness of night when it is full moon and moon-light, they often see a number of warriors hunting with much noise of dogs and horns, who, if interrogated, say they are of the *society and family of Arthur*." In the seventeenth century de L' Ancre[t] wrote thus, "in our age and of recent memory nocturnal apparitions of huntsmen have been seen, and the noise of men, horns, dogs, and horses has been heard, which is vulgarly called la chasse du roi Arthus." When Vortigern[u] was in low spirits, Merddin Ambrose used to divert his melancholy, by presenting to his senses the visionary chase of a hare or hart, with horns blowing, and hounds pursuing at full cry through the vacant air.

§ 14. This topic may be handled to better satisfaction, by descending from the remote origins of human generations and errors, and shewing to what real man and actions the Arthur of the Britons had a

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[s] Otia 2. c. 12. p. 922.

[t] Tableau de l'Inconstance etc. Spranger cit. ibid. p. 295.

[u] Heywood's Merlin p. 28, 9.

more immediate reference, and why mortals so widely removed from the æra of the Lower Western Empire, as those who seem to revive in his person, have been called up like phantoms to cross our path in history. The round table was not the work of Arthur, nor was he the entire master of it. It represented the[v] round world. In the centre of it was the Seat Perilous, representing the mundane station of the sun, according to the philosophy which was then occult though it has since become popular. To sit in that seat was the highest and most dangerous honour a man could aspire to. One Moses[w] who presumed to do so was instantly seized by seven ardent and fiery hands and carried off into the wilderness. Subsequently the same experiment was made[x] by Brumant nephew of king Claudas, who was consumed in the seat by fire from heaven. He who was destined to assume the Seat was also destined to achieve the Saint Greal. Arthur failed of doing either himself. But there was an inscription on the Seat declaring that it ought to be filled in the year of Christ 454. Bearing that Romance date in mind, we must observe that Arthur was armed with a sword of preternatural origin and qualities, in right of which he was termed Cleddyvrudd or Red-Sword and (as though he were himself the sword) Llyminawg[y] i.e. having a very sharp edge.

A bright gleaming sword to him had been brought,
And in the hand of Llyminawg it was left,
And before the gateway of hell the horn of battle is blazing;
And when we went with Arthur, refulgent in his labours,
Excepting seven none returned from Caer Mediwid.

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[v] Mort d'Artur B. 14. c. 2. [w] St. Greal fol. 103.

[x] Lancelot du Lac fol. 38. a.

[y] From llym, intensely acute, and min, a weapon's edge. Sometimes improperly written lleminawg, from llem feminine of llym. See Preiddeu Annwn I. Myvyr p. 45.

The Eagle ghost of Eliwlod says to Arthur,

Arthur, gleddydawg uthyr,
Arthur, portent of the sword,
Nought standeth before thine onset,
I am the son of Madoc son of Uthyr,

and again accosts him as if he were himself identified with or assimilated to a sword,

Arthur, ben cadoedd Cerniw,
Arddercawg, *viniawg o lliw!*
Arthur, head of the battles of Cornwall,
Exalted-one, *acute-edged of shape!*

From these modes of addressing him, it would seem as if Arthur appeared to the eyes of the eagle in the form of a sword and not in the human form. It is probable that the poem may be taken out of some Mabinogi of Arthur, the production of which would throw light upon it.

Mort Artur[z] relates that he saw a hand brandishing it over a lake, and that the Lady of the Lake gave him permission to take it. But Erasmo di Valvasone[a] says that Arthur's sister Morgana bestowed it on him at the close of his voyage through the infernal regions and initiation into all the secrets of the universe. "The great-sword of the very-great enchanter," the

Cleddyvawr gorvawr gynghallen,

was so interwoven with Arthur's life that he could not depart this world for his appointed sojourn in Damalis or Avallon, until it was flung into the water. It was the seat of his divine intelligence. By regarding it with attention (says Valvasone) he could see in it all his own defects and the mode of amending them, and so became equal to

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[z] M. A. 1. c. 25. [a] La Caccia, Canto iv.

the paragons of antiquity; and we read in Tyran le Blanc of Arthur imprisoned in a silver cage, having life, but void of knowledge and discernment, save that he could answer all questions by gazing fixedly on the blade of his naked sword. The conquests of the Brudic and Romantic Arthur included Ireland, the Hebrides, Iceland, Scandinavia, Denmark, Germany, and Gaul. His seal, upon which Leland was weak enough to rely as an authentic document, is inscribed[b] Patricius Arturius, Britanniæ, Galliæ, Germaniæ, Daciæ imperator. He humbled the power of the Roman Empire and, as Leslie Bishop[c] of Ross affirms, that of the Greek also.

Attila king of the Hunns claimed sovereignty over the Scythic and Sarmatic nations in right of the sword of Mars, (not a weapon used *by* that god but an idol *of* him, miniawg o lliw, and immemorially revered in Scythia, though seldom seen upon earth) which he pretended had been consigned into his hands by the gods. Most of the northern nations seem to have been obedient to his power, ut solus inaudito ad eum diem exemplo possessionem Germanicorum Scythicorumque regnorum[d] conjunxerit, and both sections of Constantine's empire were humbled by his arms into the payment of tribute.

Arthur passed into Gaul with all his forces and gained a great battle *in Champagne* over the Roman general Lucius Tiberius, and was marching upon Rome itself to attack the emperor, when the intrigues of Medrawd the Pict and Gwenhwyvar recalled him home and shortly afterwards destroyed him. The emperor against whom he marched is termed Leo in the Brut of Geoffrey, and in the annals of

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[b] Stillingfleet Origines p. 340. [c] De Orig. Scot. p. 139.

[d] M. Goldast. de Bohem. l. c. 8. where he uses Scythic for Sarmatic or Esclavonic.

certain Welsh convents[e] and churches he is called Leo Major and said to have reigned eighteen years. The Hunn fought a great battle *in Champagne* against the Roman general Fl. Aetius, and soon after marched against Italy, where he was encountered by no emperor, but by Pope Leo, called Magnus, who filled the see twenty-one years; and by agreement with him, but for what private motives I leave his historians to enquire, returned to his own country. A few months completed his life, by means (as it has been supposed) of an unfaithful wife and of foreign and domestic treachery. This happened either in the winter of 453 or very early in 454. And the feast of Pentecost in the year 454 was the time fixt by the prophecies preserved in Arthur's court for the filling of the siege perileux, or seat of Jesus Christ in the centre of the round table, and for atchieving the Saint Grèal.

Is it credible that two miraculous sword-bearers should have been thought or even feigned to spring up, conquer Europe, successfully assail and shake the Roman Empire, return home and perish, under circumstances so similar, and with so close a synchronism? True it is, that the Brudic Arthur bears date considerably later than the Romantic. But the date in the Bruts refers to the history of this island and its revolutions as they occurred; while that in the Romancers is meant to explain the secrets of the Arthurian superstition. They found in the dates of British history almost an anagram of the Hunnish date they wished to express. Arthur (according[f] to Tysilio etc.)

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[e] Cit. Sir J. Pryce Defensio p. 128.

[f] Brut Tysil. p. 357, where Mr. Roberts (p. 172) has falsely rendered dwy vlyned a deugain a vymcant by "A. D. 552." G. Monm. xi. c. 2. Hafod MS. p. 357 Arch.

fought the ruinous battle of Camlan in A. D. 542, which figures form an anagram of A. D. 452; and towards the close of that year the king of Hunns was met by St. Leo the Great on the banks of the Po, and persuaded or over-reached into the abandonment of his ambitious views. The warlike might of Arthur was contrasted with the intellects of Medrawd. Perhaps the sagacious pontiff may enter (at least) into the composition of the mythical Medrawd *son of Leo*, whose tongue used to drop the honey of irresistible persuasion. Merddin of Celyddon, in foretelling the renewed contest of Camlan between Arthur and Medrawd, uses the remarkable phrase, "an ecclesiastical dignitary (eglwysig bendefig) shall be the commander."

Arthur was engendered in miracle and magic by the Portent with the Serpent's Head; and king Attila's mother is described in Runic poems as a female[g] serpent, not in metaphorical invective, but as being really such. Of Arthur and Merddin Ambrose, it is said that they disappeared mysteriously from among men, and are detained alive in enchanted places. In an ancient German[h] poem (perhaps written in the twelfth century, but of which the materials in Latin were collected in the tenth) it is said of the Hunn, "Some say he was "killed in battle, which others deny. I have never been able to "ascertain whether he suddenly disappeared, or was taken up into the "air, or buried alive, or taken up to heaven, or whether he fell out of "his skin, or shut himself up in caves among the rocks, or fell into an "abyss, or was swallowed up by the devil." A lake in the Armorican Britain contains an islet, in which there stands a large stone, under

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[g] Oddrunar Gratr st. 30. Gunnar's Slagr st. 22.

[h] Nibelunge Not. ed. Lachman p. ult. Jamieson's Northern Ant. p. 213.

which[i] a giant is confined, who is not to escape from his prison, until a virgin removes the stone with her hands; and that islet is termed Isle de l'Hun, Isle of the Hunn. The existence of such opinions is what makes for our point, not the cause of them. But the disappointed yet persevering belief in religious impostures (which even detection does not confute, so obstinate is the deceivableness of man) will sometimes give rise to such ideas; of which our age and country exhibits one sad[j] example, and Persia another, as foolish, though more dignified, in her expectation of the twelfth Imaum. The Bruts pretend, concerning the river Humber, that it was called in the most remote times, ages and ages before the Hunns were named or heard of, from a king of that people who was defeated on its shores and drowned in its current; while Veremond of Iona reported that Arthur was slain upon the banks of it and his people drowned by thousands. I trust the following will be excused, as being offered with no sort of confidence in its solidity. Attila received his first severe check from the Patrician Aetius at the battle of Catalaunum in Champagne, perhaps unrivalled in the records of slaughter. The battle in which Arthur was wounded is placed on the banks of the Alawn (by which name many British rivers were called) and Leland terms it bellum[k] Alaunicum quod vulgò Camlan. It so happens that cat-alawn will signify either *Catalaunum* or the *battle of the Alaunus*. There may be Bardic equivocation in this.

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[i] I read this in an extract from some publication, inserted three or four years ago in a daily paper, (I think, in the Morning Post) and am unable to say from what book it was extracted by the Editor.

[j] Mr. Edward Williams, in a letter written in 1809 subsequent to the cessation of his literary connexion with Mr. W. Owen Pughe, enquired if the latter still held to the faith of Johanna Southcote. Cambr. Reg. 3. p. 374.

[k] Assertio Arthuri 21 b.

The parallel seems to present us with the same dates, and with the like superstitions, conquests and dominion, events, misfortunes, and catastrophe. Unless it be objected that the British Isles were not subject to the Scythian. Perhaps not; but they may have been under his influence, and waiting only for that spring tide of his fortune, called mystically the filling of the Seat Perilous, to become formally and entirely his. The last application of the Britons for Roman aid was made to the Patrician Aetius, who was unable to send any, and then it is not unlikely that they may have turned towards his terrible competitor. Of course I need not say, that all these barbarian monarchs were Paramount Lords, and no way interfered with the local rights of the immediate kings. The ministers of that conqueror boasted to those of Rome that he "had acquired power over the *Islands*[l] *of the Ocean* as well as over all Scythia and the Roman Empire." A Norse Saga mentions an embassy[m] sent thither from the principal of the Hunn's vassal kings residing at his court, in Arthur's reign, under a certain Herburt, who eloped with Arthur's daughter, pulled off his chaplain's beard, and killed twelve of his knights. That fable agrees with the Romance date of Arthur's reign. Francis Irenicus (who refers to books of history, now little, if at all, known) mentions that Genseric "after the capture of Carthage sent expeditions over to Sicily, Ireland, and Britannia,[n] where he maintained himself, *until the defervescence of the tyranny of Attila.*" The fabling Tysilio lends a sort of confirmation to this statement, though he brings down the date to the reign of a certain Caredig, about twenty-three years after the fall of Arthur; for he says, that Gormund, *a cruel king of Africa, had occupied Ireland*[o] *with his navy*, and sent over 300 sail of ships from thence to Great

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[l] Excerpt Legat. p. 64. ed. Paris.
[m] Wilkina Saga p. 301 etc.
[n] Germ. Exeg. l. c. 25. fol. 150. a.
[o] Roberts's Tysilio. p. 174.

Britain, to aid the Saxons who tendered him homage and tribute. The ferocious Arian, Genseric, was the well-known confederate and ally of the heathen Hunn; and, therefore, we must construe the "usque deferbuerit" of Irenicus, that he held Ireland and over-awed the British coast in concert with him, in furtherance of his plans, and just so long as those plans continued to exist. Arius Froda relates that, when the Norwegians first[p] occupied Iceland, they found it inhabited by Christians, who soon after took their departure, leaving behind them books in the Irish tongue and other proofs that they were Irish people. Since the Irish were never celebrated as a nautical people, it is likely this settlement may have been made by the Vandal admirals while they held Ireland, and may serve in some degree to excuse the assertion of the British Chronicles that Arthur occupied Iceland.

Having noticed with approbation Dr. Owen's opinion that the sword-bearing Arthur (the Llyminawg and Henpen of the Bards) was a type of Nimrod, and having just afterwards maintained that he was a type of Attila, it is incumbent on me to remark that the latter denominated himself in his official style, among other titles, some of obvious meaning, and others profoundly mysterious, "the lineal descendant of Nimrod the Great." The use of that proper name bespeaks him to be something more than the savage Scythian, and a dabbler in *Scriptural* heresies. If I were in the right concerning Arthur, it would farther follow, that Attila sought to identify himself, in the Eastern fashion, by avatar or reincarnation, with the same Scythian Hercules from whom he claimed a lineal descent.

The resulting probability is, that the Gwrthevyr party, the Neo-Druids or "Apollinares Mystici," sought the alliance of the great barbarian, during the life and nominal reign of Gwrtheyrn, secretly

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[p] De Islandia c. 2. p. 11.

acknowledged the mysteries of his dæmon sword, and beheld in him a reincarnation of Hên-Velen or Belenus the Ancient, of Mithras the robber and huntsman, the spirit of the sun, and (as old Llywarch sang) "the bull of conflict, the guider of war, the support of battle, the bright elevated lamp." The apostates of these isles, by obtaining a real and cotemporary head to their system, were enabled to give it more energy and popularity at thé time, and make it stronger against Christ. And, afterwards, by addressing their worship to a Martial Apollo, whose manifest presence and brandished sword had but lately astonished all nations, they could more easily keep alive in their people the hopes of the future, and did so in effect, until long time wearing out their patience, and a gradual return to other thoughts and hopes, led them to exclaim "where is the promise of his coming?"

The history of that man has been examined by a friend of mine with much diligence and acumen, and with such a careful comparison of all that has been said or sung concerning his awful and obscure reign, that when it sees the light, it cannot fail materially to enrich our records of the decline of Rome and rise of Modern Europe, and of the critical struggles of the Church for her existence at that epoch. Meanwhile, I do not believe that two Beings so similar and coincident as the Hunn and the pretended Briton were thus brought into juxtaposition, without the intention of identifying them; and we are the less called upon to force such a belief on our minds, when we consider that the Ambrosian and Arthurian fable emanates from persons rejoicing[q] in mystery and methodical concealment, and professing to preserve a private lore, imparted only under sanction of a self-imprecated anathema, *rhydyngiad*.

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[q] Martin was alluded to in p. 15. In observing his connexion with British hagiography we shall, in some slight degree, further illustrate the Hunno-Celtic mystery.

§ 15. The battle of *Camlan* in Cornwall was never fought. Cam-lan is a compound word, expressing "Field of Injustice" or "Wickedness." In cryptographic language, a battle is put for a great contention, and, as a day stands for a longer period of time, e. g. the great and awful *day* of the Lord, so a single act of hostility signifies a whole system of hostility, including, perhaps, many such literal acts of it. The protestant reformation or French revolution might thus be designated as battles. The battle of Armageddon is open to that interpretation. Camlan[q] is one in a Triad of "frivolous battles." The first of those three, is the Cad of Goddeu i. e. of the shrubs or trees, concerning which there is a poem of Taliesin's; and it is beyond all doubt a mere allegory, the trees being those, whose leaves and branches the Bards used as hieroglyphics, and by way of a secret language. Cad Goddeu, Battle of Shrubs, really meant the battle of the occult doctrines. It[r] was fought on account of a bitch, a hind, and a lapwing, or, as others said, of a white roe-buck and a puppy, and 71000 men were slain in it. The animals in dispute belonged to Arawn king of Hades or the Abyss, from whence they had been taken by Amathaon son of Don. So much for the Cad Goddeu or

> "The battle in miniature,
> Battle in the conflict of the sprigs of trees,[s]
> Against the Gwledig of Britain
> The centre of the impetuous steeds
> The possessor of navies."

The second frivolous battle is Arderydd; and will bear examination no better. In it, Maelgwn and his vassal king Rhydderch of Cumbria

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[q] Tr. 50. p. 65.

[r] See Arch. Myv. 1. p. 167. Davies Celt. Res. p. 259. Cambro-Briton 2. p. 11.

[s] Cad Goddeu *v.* 25.

were opposed to Gwenddoleu the Pict, Aidan the Scot, Ethelfled a Saxon, the bard Merddin, and divers other chieftains. Merddin incurred such odium by reason of his concern in that contest, that he became mad or shammed it, and fled into the woods of Celyddon. This was also in some sort a battle of trees, for its issue deprived Merddin of his hundred and forty-seven apple trees. The madness of Merddin is variously accounted for. In his Avallenau he seems to ascribe it to the loss of his apples (st. 5 and 6) and, though he mentions having[t] completely ruined the son and daughter of Rhydderch, does not refer it to that cause. Geoffrey in his *Merlin* assigns for its cause the death of three[u] of the six brothers of Peredur ap Eliffer, who were slain at Arderydd. Ralph Higden says that it was,

[v] Quòd consistens in prælio
Monstrum videns in aere
Mente cœpit excedere.

Eighty thousand men fell at Arderydd, and a lark's nest was the point in dispute. That could never be true, in any literal sense, even in times when princes were most jealous of the rights of the chase; and if it could, is in effect contradicted by all the extant poems on the subject. No such place as Arderydd is known; and the phrase by which it is exprest in the opening of a nearly coeval (though in parts interpolated) work, gwaith Arderydd *ag Eryddon*, i. e. the battle of the[w] Ard-eagle and *of the eagles*, teaches us that Arderydd was

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[t] Avall. st. 13. *v.* 7.

[u] Merlin *v.* 34—56. Mr. Ellis misconstrued this passage and supposed them to be Merlin's brothers. Ellis Engl. Rom. 1. p. 73, 4.

[v] Higden p. 189. Gale.

[w] Mr. Davies rendered this phrase *high* eagle, from ard in Gaelic; but erydd is not a Gaelic word. Aryvderydd, the reading in Arch. Myvyr. 1. 48, is perhaps the right one and signifies wonderful eagle.

not the name of a real place. Mr. Davies has well argued from the Avallenau, Hoianau, and other sources, that the battle of Arderydd denotes a struggle between two sets of religious tenets. Camlan is the third frivolous battle. It is strange, that a nephew debauching his uncle's wife, usurping his crown, and calling in the foreign enemy, should be a frivolous cause of war. But the Triadist makes out his case, by tracing the frivolity a step farther back than the defection of Medrawd. The latter was occasioned by a slap with the hand[x] given by Gwenhwyvach wife of Medrawd to Gwenhwyvar, or else, by a slap given by Arthur to Medrawd and another by Gwenhwyvar[y] to Gwenhwyvach; for it is in doubt which party slapped first. There escaped from that battle[z] Morvran ap Tegid whom nobody could look at because he was so ugly, and Sandde of the angel-aspect whom nobody could hurt because he was so beautiful, and Glewlwyd of the huge grasp who was so strong that none would encounter him, and save these three none escaped from Camlam. It cannot be doubted but all these bardic Armageddons describe either the internal dissensions among the Neo-Druids, or their struggles against the church of God, or some other of their mysterious affairs. The Triadists but imperfectly understood the sort of language which the bards used. In that language an *overcad*, i. e. frivolous, vain, waste, or superfluous battle, meant an allegorical and ideal battle superinduced upon history for symbolical uses; so that, when we say Goddeu, Arderydd, and Camlan were frivolous, we mean that no such battles ever took place. Even so, when it is written that Menw (Intellect) son of Teirgwaedd (the Three Shouts) and Trystan (the Noisy) son of Tallwch (Expansion)

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[x] Triad 49. ser. 3. [y] Tr. 51. ser. 1.

[z] Tr. 83. ser. 3.

and Cai Hir (the Long Concatenation) son of Cynyr (the First Shock) were three *illusory* knights, Lledrithiawg, in the court of Arthur, appearing in every form they chose to assume, we must understand that no such men [a] existed in Britannia, and that their names, attributes, and actions were but cryptographical characters. It is needless to add, that, if the battle in which Arthur fell is a vain overcad and a mere ideality, we are somewhat confirmed in our belief that Arthur himself is of the like nature.

§ 16. We must not suppose that the division of this long and fabulous æra into the reigns of Ambrosius, Uthyr, and Arthur, was made without a meaning; though we can no longer trace the signification of those signs. A progressive deterioration, a diminishing dissimulation, and a bolder defiance of all that Christendom worshipped or professed may be perceived in these several steps. The system of Ambrosius was in fact, as in name, less repugnant to the manners and opinions of the corrupted Romans than the succeeding ones. It was that of the Apollinares Mystici of Gaul, and somewhat similar to that of modern mystics, illuminates, masons, etc., who affect to reverence in the *Visible Sun* a reflexion of the glories of the *Intelligible Sun;* and does not merely date from the reign of the pretended king Ambrosius, when it became theocratic, and superseded monarchy, but from a considerably earlier time. In the sister system of his brother Uthyr we learn, that a mysterious intercourse took place between the Ambrosians of Mount Caer-Caradoc [b] and the Cymmry of Cornwall, whose city Artavia is thought to be the same as Tintagel. That the apostasy thus modelled, assumed a more black and horrible

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[a] See above p. xii. l. 4.

[b] Ulfin of Ricaradoch, G. Monm. malè, of Caer Caradawg, Br. G. ap Arthur rectè.

aspect, may be inferred from the foul acts imputed to its then leader styled "the Dragon-headed portent," and from such terrific names as those being bestowed upon him. Yet little appears to have been openly done in this second and shortest period. The secret hatching of Arthur's birth was its main business,

Τικτε δε κνανεον ὑπηνεμιον νυξ ἡ μελανοπτερος ὠον.

Under the Ambrosians, with their festivals of nature at the seasons, kalends, etc., their love of music and poetry, their superb Cyclopean structures, and all their appliances to seduce the mind and influence the imagination, "Satan himself had been transformed into an angel of light." But in time it becomes wearisome to wear a mask, even to the prince of lies. If we say that, during the Arthurian regimen, all such forms and precepts of Christianity as the children of light had from cautious motives retained were boldly renounced, we shall fall short of the truth. The Arthurians borrowed from the Hunns of Scythia, and mixed up with all the perfidy and impurity of the corrupted Roman empire, a scheme of savage and cruel barbarism, from which a Symmachus would have shrunk only less than a Chrysostom. In the days of Gwrthevyr Vendigaid, and in those of Ambrosius, the Hunno-Celtic mystery, the sun manifest in the bloody sword of Mars, was kept as a thing occult and a matter of initiation to the worthy; and while the bitter fruit was tasted of, the apple tree that bore it was sheltered from view in the mystic Avallon. There is a triad[c] of the first moment, illustrating this point. Three disclosures of concealed things brought subjugation upon Britannia. Two of them were the disclosures made by Vortigern of the Untoward Mouth to the Saxons at

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[c] Tr. 53. ser. 3. 45. ser. 1. 10. ser 2.

the Stonehenge. The other was as follows. "Eugenius son of Maximus concealed the head of Bran ap Llyr under the white hill at London; and while it remained hidden no foreign conquest need be feared. But Arthur disclosed the head of Bran the Blessed, because he esteemed it a small thing to keep this island by those means or otherwise than by his own mightiness." Probably we might be able to illustrate this part of our subject better, were we furnished with access to the mabinogi of Culhwch. Eugenius son of Maximus first organized the apostasy, cunningly and secretly. But Arthur in foolhardy fanaticism proclaimed and exposed to the public gaze and adoration its most ineffable mysteries;

> A bold bad man, that dared to call by name
> Great Gorgon, prince of darkness and dead night.

The magician's Demogorgon was the Neo-Druid's "head *of the Sea Raven,*" of Bran ap Llyr Llediaith, the Raven son of the[d] Sea the Half-spoken, or Mor-vran ail Tacit, the Sea-Raven son of the Taciturn. The disclosure of Bran's head by the over-weening Arthurists is well esteemed (in this Triad) to have precipitated the downfall of the nation, whom Gildas (who himself beheld the hideous revelation) styles apostatas insipientes. But another British mythology alludes to the discovering of Bran's head, and regards it as a mighty triumph achieved; I mean that of the Cad Goddeu or Battle of Trees. In it, we perceive that the black bird of hell had been protected from public recognition by assuming a bright angelic form. Gwydion ap Don (the British Hermes) was unable to gain that battle against Arawn

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[d] The meaning of llyr in this instance (for it has other modifications of meaning) is fixt by the tautology of the Bonedd y Saint, styling him Bran ap Llyr *Marini.*

king of the Abyss, till he could discover the name of a fair-haired youth in Arawn's army. At length he exclaimed,

Bran i'th elwyr briger loyw!
Raven is thy name, thou with the bright locks!

and thus he gained the victory, and remained loaded with the spoils of Hades. So the head of Bran was made known, for all it was transformed into a spirit of light; but whether the revelation was for good or for evil, people differed according as caution prevailed or fanaticism raged in their minds.

The retirement of Arthur into the island of the heifer or of the apple-trees, where he was deposited by Taliesin and Merddin and concealed by Morgana, signifies the covering up again, and the consigning afresh to masonic secresy, of those things which the Arthurists had too boldly promulged; not without the intention, signified in Arthur's expected return, of finding some opportunity at which to reproduce them.

§ 17. The story goes, that a pagan king Arthur, son of Algothus, son of *Attilus*, reigned in Sweden about the year 630. He subjugated all Europe from the river Tanais or Don to the Elbe. The Goths in memory of him call every excellent and distinguished man "an Arthur," or they say, "he is worthy of the family of Arthur of Sweden." That family were invincible and consisted of his familiar friends and ministers, joined to one another by a strict union, but as fierce as lions to their enemies. Even to this day (says[e] Olaus Magnus) there are in the Vandalic towns *Houses of Arth* which are styled Illustrious, and in which the more eminent citizens assemble for recreation and as it were in a school of honour. By means of his family (as it was

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[e] De Gent. Sept. p. 842.

called) Arthur conquered the Muscovites, Livonians, and Courlanders. It may be remembered that the wild hunters of the British isle used to call themselves the *Family of Arthur*. This Swedish history, coupled with the fact that such masonic lodges were held on the shores of the Baltic in the name of an Arthur and upon a principle exactly similar to that of the Round-Table, but yet without any allusion to Britannia, may raise an idea that the British name in question was *very early* known and accepted on the continent as a title of that Hunnish conqueror, whose empire was over the North and from the Tanais to the Elbe. But it would be desireable to ascertain, whether the Swedish history and German free-masonry mentioned by Olaus can be traced, as a thing in existence at any time anterior to the dissolution of the Templars.

Alain Bouchard[f] pretends that one Daniel Dremrudd i. e. the Red-visaged reigned in Little Britain from 689 to 730, carried his arms into Germany, was elected king of the Germans, and proceeded into Italy as far as Pavia, where he obtained in marriage the daughter of the Roman emperor *Leo*, who ceded to him Anjou, Poictou, Maine, and Lombardy. He returned into Armorica, where he reigned the most powerful monarch of all the West. His title of Red-visaged is an epithet of Arthur, whose "empurpling redness" is mentioned in the Cadair Teyrnon. It signifies the Sun, the head of Mithras, which was woven conspicuously upon the enchanted banner of the Arch-druidist or Mael-derw;

[g] Terrific the front, radiating rays,
Let the Sovereign stand firm in the midst,

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f Gr. Cron. de Bret. f. 53. Argentrè Hist. Bret. 3. c. b.

g Gorchan Maelderw *v.* 48. p. 62.

The visage of the red-visaged and open-visaged,
Drem *Dremrudd* Dremrydd!

and that same visage pourtrayed on the British ensign was the object of the benediction bestowed by the god of the giant-rampart, when he said,

Be Arthur blessed,
And *his face* in the battle
When it tumultuates around him!

Daniel is said to have been descended from the ancient Earls of Cornwall, Arthur's native country. Of his existence, as of Arthur's, no authentic record is found. But the strongest coincidence is, that he ended his career of conquest by an Italian expedition, which he never carried into complete effect, and beyond the north of which country he did not penetrate, during the reign of *an Emperor Leo* who did not exist at the time in question. The circumstances not only identify him with Arthur, but both with Attila. Attila invaded Italy to claim the Roman princess Honoria in marriage, which claim was the main point upon which Leo had to satisfy him in their treaty, and which (no doubt) Leo was obliged to concede. Here Daniel comes one step nearer to Attila than Arthur did.

§ 18. Between Gwrtheyrn of Gwynedd and Constantine of Cornwall, historical characters, these three sovereigns appear in the chronicles of Britain, Ambrosius called Aurelius or Gwledig, Uthyr Pendragon, and Arthur. I have extracted from the history and flung aside these three, whom I will make bold to call the Hobgoblin Dynasty; there remains therefore a blank of more than half a century unaccounted for by any succession of monarchs; not to mention the prior and similar blank, interrupting Gwrtheyrn's reign, and adorned with the fabulous name of Gwrthevyr Vendigaid. We must remember that Britain consisted of many principalities of which the Princes,

when emergency rendered it necessary and disposed them to a good understanding with each other, elected some one to be the brenin Prydain oll. But it was not always feasible for a college of fiery Celtic tyrants to come to any such agreement. In fact, no monarch of the island was established and recognized between Vortigern and Constantine.

Gwrtheyrn became odious to his people and was twice dethroned. Those who pretend that he had certain sons named Gwrthevyr and Cyndeyrn represent them as dying before their father. And his son Pasgen was never able to make good his pretensions. The mode of Gwrtheyrn's death is variously related. He was burnt by Aurelius Ambrosius, or burnt by fire from heaven, or swallowed up by the earth, etc. But the fire of Ambrose Gwledig and the fire from heaven are equivalent terms, inasmuch as the former is that deity whom the mystici of the lower western empire entitled sol invictus Mithras. The power by whose violence Gwrtheyrn perished was one that he had grievously offended, viz. the whole body of Apollinares mystici or Neo-Druids. That power was also arrayed against Pasgen and all the friends of Alis Ronwen's ill-fated and calumniated husband. Britannia was governed by it during the long interreign, "with such fornication (as saith Gildas out of Corinthians) as is not so much as named among the Gentiles." Its dæmon god was the only head to which in this extreme point of her apostasy the island looked up. "The bull of battle, the bright elevated lamp, too long was he listened to." His priests were all-powerful among the Britons, and the whole period of superstitious anarchy is expressed and dissembled in the Bruts under the names of three ideal kings. Thus it came to pass, that sovereigns of more than mortal prowess were chronicled and the victories of even the latest of them made to rival the twelve labours of

Hercules, and yet the upshot of their joint reigns was the conquest of the fairest portion of the island by foreigners and the removal of its seat of government to Caerleon upon Usk.

During this period the word gwledig, meaning *he of the country*, and thence, a national sovereign, became an equivalent in Celtic for the Latin Mithriac name Aurelius, the golden-sun. As a designation of the tutelar deity it frequently occurs, and agrees with some[h] words anciently known in the religiones of Rome, *Indiges*,

> Indigetem Æneam scis ipsa et scire fateris
> Deberi cœlo fatisque ad sidera tolli,

Indigena,

> Perfidiâne Deûm Indigenûm cecidere tot urbes,

and *Incola*, Orion qui et Incola dicitur. When Gildas wrote (A. D. 544) it was become so complete an equivalent, that he translates the name of the obscure tyrant Cynan Wledig into Aurelius Conanus.

The history of this polity is of course veiled in deep obscurity, since the historians of the Cymmry have not chosen to make any acknowledgment of its very existence. Our statesmen of the fifth monarchy did not own themselves to be republicans, but said, this is more than ever a kingdom, for Christ is our king. And the conduct of the Ambrosio-Arthurians was something analogous in paganism to that of our deluded Christian enthusiasts; save that the former openly professed and practised the supernatural.

Prophecy was a great and avowed engine. The famous prophecies of Merddin Ambrose were oracular vaticinations of the arch-prophet himself, the "Delius vates." Others were professedly

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[h] Æn. xii. 794 etc. etc. Prud. adv. Symm. 500. Germanicus Cæsar in Arat. 328.

delivered by bards, such as Taliesin and Merddin Wyllt, and by fanatic hags. Stonehenge was the Ebyr Hên-Velen, old Belenus's place of effata. The Gorchan[1] Maelderw opens with one of those effata.

Doleu deu ebyr am gaer,
In windings cometh the effatum round the Caer,
" Let slumber mine armour and my radiance!
" Let chilling coldness dart through the ranks of slaughter!
" Let the glorious, the enterprising, rest in sleep!"

Besides the continual prophesyings of bards, there exist other intimations of an agency directly oracular. In Kadair Teyrnon, Arthur's initiation is

The award of the glorious song
Of immeasurable inspiration,

and his benediction is the voice of Gorlassar or Heilyn emitted from the Ebyr Hên-Velen and mundane rampart. The same poem says

Eminent is the truth when it shines,
More eminent when it speaks,
When wisdom arises out of the cauldron
Of the goddess of the threefold inspiration.

And so in the Preiddeu Annwn,

When first it was utter'd from the cauldron
Somewhat heated by the breath of the nine virgins.

The greatest difficulty must have been to regulate the distribution of power and dignity among a people so factious and contentious as were both the subjects of the God and the ruling conclave of his ministers. That problem could best be solved by resorting to a direct oracle of their deity. One such is fortunately preserved to us. It is called a poetical triplet of king Arthur's composition. But it is an oracular

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[1] Arch. 1. p. 84.

response to an inquiry, what princes (teyrn) should be the chief commanders of the British armies.

> [m] My three knights-of-battle are verily
> Mael the tall and Llyr the bellipotent
> And Caradoc the pillar of Cymru.

The awful result was that these three persons received "principality and power to do whatever they pleased; but it was their inclination to act with discretion and equity." Besides the solution of disputed points, it was the grand business of the oracular agency to keep alive the hopes of the Britons in their contest of extermination with the Saxons, and this was "the public chief-song of Cadwallader and Conan." Dom Martin in his Religion des[n] Gaulois gives a spirited drawing of the head of Apollo Belenus delivering oracles, and so constructed that oracles might be delivered through its open mouth. It was found in the ancient castle of Polignac, which family is supposed to derive its name from the Apollinares of Gaul. That head is the "Drem Dremrudd Dremrydd," and a production of art both sublime and terrific.

§ 19. The zeal and credulity of the miserable nation diminished with misfortune, and religion fell into that state in which the poems of the extant Cynveirdd exhibit it. They flourished in the latter part of the fanatical anarchy, and chiefly under the revived monarchy; and they speak of their creed and magic with a raving fanaticism, but yet with plaintive and reproachful appeals in their behalf, as though they felt that their own power and influence were departing from them. Most of the people were beginning to prefer monarchy to hierarchy, and some of them began to rate Christianity above masonry and

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[m] Triad 29. ser. 3. see Tr. 21. ser. 1.

[n] Dom Martin 1. p. 399.

witchcraft. Llywarch the Aged seems to have been of the former class; and so much is signified in a Triad which cites him (with two others) as having been *a free and dissatisfied* guest at the court of Arthur. His earlier poems are often mysterious, and sometimes quite raving, as are the nine° triplets of "the rhedaint" in his Dirge of Geraint ap Erbin, and the fourteen triplets of the head of Urien. But he differs from the bards regular by retaining the use of human reason and affections in a greater degree, and seeming more to belong to the world in which we live; qualities more visible in his latest works, though visible in all. And in his last cycnèan song, deploring his childless old age, he declares himself to be sick and weary of the mystery of iniquity, though he plainly shews that he relied on nothing else. He lived from about A. D. 500 to about A. D. 650, drunk to its very dregs the nauseous cup that others had mixed, and died in solitude and in the extremes of age and poverty, surviving his twenty-four children. His history excites the compassion of men and it may be hoped that the errors of his uninstructed and bewildered mind find mercy with God. The dialogue with Eliwlod belongs to the decline of Arthurism; and its author maintains that Arthur actually is the dæmon of the Sun, but pretends nevertheless to esteem the worship of him, as such, a sin against God. The Camlan change, which upset the sword of the Sun and Scythian Mars and ultimately drove that bloody idol with its orgies back into the secret groves of its Avallon, was effected by treachery of Arthur's wife and kinsmen, which, being interpreted from bardism into history, implies the defection of some who had erewhile been zealous Arthurists. Of

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° Those triplets may be illustrated by referring to the Gorchan Cynvelyn v. 35—7. p. 60.

these some went off one way, and some another. Gildas to the Catholicity of Rome. Maelgwn Gwynedd, Arthur's chief organ of government, first to Catholicity, and then to Culdeism. Rhydderch and many others to Culdeism. Llywarch to nothing but disgust and scepticism. Iddawg surnamed Corn Prydain[p] to I know not what.

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[p] Called a saint, and said to have been a grandson of Caradoc Vreichbras.

CHAP. V.

CONSTANTINE SON OF CADOR.—ELECTION OF MAELGWN.—HIS STYLE.—CHARACTER OF MAELGWN.—HIS CHRONOLOGY.—HE WAS THE NEPHEW AND MURDERER OF VORTIGERN.—CONCERNING CAREDIG AND GWRTHEVYR VENDIGAID.—REIGNS OF CADVAN AND CADWALLON.—CADWALADYR.—HIS CONQUESTS IN ENGLAND.—HE IS THE CEDWALLA OF ENGLISH HISTORY.—HIS ABDICATION.—THE BARD GOLYDDAN.—CADWALADYR'S BAPTISM AND DEATH.—RECAPITULATION.

Culmen, opes, sobolem, pollentia regna, triumphos,
Exuvias, proceres, mœnia, castra, lares,
Quæque patrum virtus et quæ congesserat ipse,
Cedwalla armipotens liquit amore Dei.

SERGIUS PONTIFEX.

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§ 1. THE monarchy, on its revival, did not at once return into the hands of the Gwynethian dynasty and posterity of Cynedda Wledig; but it remained for a short time in the hands of the Cornubians, who seem to have been prevalent during the Arthurian regimen, The Cornish prince Constantine ap Cadwr was crowned king of all Britain, and under him one Vortipore or Gwrthevyr reigned in Dyved, Maelgwn in Gwynedd, Aurelius Conan son of Llewelyn, and Cynglas, in states of which the names do not appear. At this epoch Arthurism continued to be in some sort a public institution, although it no longer

tyrannized over men's minds or assumed to supply the place of British royalty; and king Cynglas still made it his boast to officiate as "charioteer of the chariot which is the receptacle of the Bear." Two of the above princes, Conan and Vortipore, have, by a gross perversion of the words of Gildas, been represented as insular monarchs, successors to Constantine. But Gildas most expressly states that Constantine was then reigning when he wrote; and Sir John Pryce clearly saw that all the persons whom he reviles in succession were then simultaneously reigning in various parts. Mr. Warrington in his history does not even mention the intrusive kings, but goes straight from Constantine to Maelgwn; and Dr. Owen, in fixing the accession of Maelgwn, in like manner passes them over. In fact, he was succeeded by Maelgwn; either presently, or after some brief interval of confusion and anarchy, the duration of which may be conjectured from that which is assigned to the two false and intrusive reigns.

§ 2. Maelgwn prince of Môn or Anglesea (therefore called the *Insular Dragon* by Gildas) was son to Caswallawn the Longhanded, king of Gwynedd, and he was in lineal descent from Cynedda Wledig, who was founder of the Gwynethian dynasty and is reported to have migrated from Manau or Man. Maelgwn was conspicuous for beauty, valiant, and intelligent, and endowed with every qualification but constancy and virtue. He was cruel, and addicted to foul and unspeakable vices. It seems that Maelgwn was raised to the throne of Britain with circumstances of religious imposture, such as his new sect of Magi employed to seat the family of Hystaspes on that of Persia. They[q] assembled a convention at the Aber-Tivy, upon a spot since called the Strand of Maelgwn, and placed their chairs within

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[q] H. Llwyd Brit. Descript. p. 170.

reach of the tide, and whichever could keep his seat in spite of the flow was to be the Chief-King. One Melda of Arvon made a chair for Maelgwn stuffed with feathers, and, when the tide came in, none could abide its flow, except him, whose chair floated under him. Therefore he was made king over the others, and his word was their word, and his law their law, but he was not bound by theirs. The well-known transaction between Canute and his courtiers is otherwise almost inexplicable, because it involves a proposition which we cannot imagine their propounding or his being at any pains to refute. But it receives explanation from this passage of Britannic history, which shews that the error of his courtiers lay not in blaspheming flattery but in cherishing an ancient insular superstition. Maelgwn arrived very late in life at the summit of his ambition, and enjoyed his stolen crown not long. Under the Arthurian regimen, he had attained to the highest civil authority that the times admitted of. When Arthur was chief king at Caerleon upon Usk, and St. David chief prelate, Maelgwn Gwynedd[r] was *the chief-elder*. But Cornwall, and the

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[r] Triad 7. p. 3. It might be supposed that Mael *Hir* or *the Tall*, to whom Arthur's response assigned the first place, was the same as his chief elder Mael-*Gwn* or *the Summit, the Supreme;* for the latter also was termed Maelgwn *Hir*, and was "in proportion of body greater than any of the kings or dukes of Britain," (Cyvoesi st. 14. Philip Pryd. in Arch. 1. 377. Enderbie's Cambria p. 201. Howes cit. ibid.) and the gwn in Mael-gwn seems to be an epithetic, and not a firmly integral, part of the name, since Gildas hath it in the modified form of Mael-gogwn, Malgocunus (malè Maglocunus), a modification idiomatically expressing the sort of supremacy held by Mael the first cadvarchawg and Maelgwn the chief elder. But the Triadist calls the former Mael ap Menwaed of Arllechwedd. However the Triadist is himself contradicted by David secretary to Llewelyn ap Iorwerth, who asserts that Mael ap Menwyd (meaning, I suppose, the same man as ap Menwaed) did not flourish till the reign of Iago ap Beli ap Rhun ap Maelgwn, king of Gwynedd. Codex Wallicus cit. Wotton Notitia in Hywel Dda. See Triad 30. ser. 1. Preferring the testimony of this genealogist to the anonymous and unsatisfactory Triads, I do not renounce my conjecture that Mael Hir and Maelgwn Hir are but one person.

North (i. e. Cumbria, Pictland, etc.) had also their own prelates and chief elders under Arthur. The congress of Aber-Tivy gave a finish to that influence which had gone forth over Britain from Tintagel and the Cornubian Cimbri, and transferred the paramount power from Cerniw to Gwynedd.

Here let us mark the order and course of events. Vortigern and his people were tainted with the apostasy, but supported the Britannic constitution of many kings under one monarch. He was destroyed by the arts of the Pateras, Druids of the apostasy, Bards of Beli. And that constitution, being subverted by them, was succeeded by that long and turbulent interval of priestcraft, which is exprest by the three allegorical names of the Hobgoblin Dynasty. In or about the year 542 occurred that cessation of the fanatical anarchy, which is figuratively termed *the abdication of Arthur* in favour of the Cornubian Constantine, and the coronation of the latter. In Constantine's person the Britannic constitution was set up again, but not with success. It was discredited by the wickedness and insignificance of the man, and the custom of the people to rely upon false gods and superstitious appliances. Next came, in Maelgwn of Mona, the third term, combining the principles of the other two; that of an elect monarch with suffragan kings, established not on a civil but a spiritual basis, and by suffrages not free but controlled by a pagan oracle or ordeal. Upon the whole, then, if asked, whether there was no brenin ar yr ynys during the Ambrosian, Uthyrian, and Arthurian æras of the Bruts, I should not scruple to answer, there was none.

The results of Maelgwn's election did not equal his pretensions. The obscure traditions of Arderydd and Elfin shew that he was ill obeyed by his subjects. His authority was limited to the Cornish, Welsh, and Strathclyde kingdoms, with so much of western Lloegria

as yet adhered to them; and was precariously established even within those limits.

Yet there is room for saying, that he was the only *British* king Arthur, the only shadow of an Arthur that ever reigned both *personally in*, and titularly over, this island. That is to say, he was the only brenin ar yr ynys in whose person the popular superstition was embodied. We have seen him riding on the waves, as it were in the llun y llong or unsubmerged "chariot of the receptacle of the Bear," and so obtaining his crown. We farther read in the Bruts, that he reigned over this whole island, Ireland, the Orkneys, Iceland, Gothland, Norway, and Denmark. This statement as applied to Maelgwn of Mona, could not even pretend to be a truth and did not. Its falsehood is very notorious. Though simply affirmed by Tysilio, it does not so much misstate a fact, as state a style; like the style, king of Sardinia, *Cyprus*, and *Jerusalem*. And it is a part of the imperial style of Arthur, which, as applied to Arthur, contributes in no light degree to disclose who he was, and, as transferred to Maelgwn, means to indicate that he was a second Arthur, and wished to be esteemed more than a mere king, and a sort of theocrator. Maelgwn of Mona arrived at such celebrity in his own time and country, that his island was sometimes called after him by poets Môn Maelgynig, the Maelgwnian Mona, like Gibeah of Saul or the Pittheian Trœzen. The most eminent of the extant Bards and the founders of Culdeism flourished during the life-time of this king, and an accurate knowledge of his life and affairs is as desirable as it is unattainable.

The furious declamation of Saint Gildas throws a light upon his character and actions as hereditary prince of Gwynedd and then as king of it, but anterior to his becoming the Brenin ar yr Ynys,

"Why, O Maelgwn,[r] dragon from the isle, of many tyrants both the dethroner and the slayer, posterior to the above mentioned (viz. Constantine, Conan, Vortipore, and Cynglas) in the order of seniority but prior in the order of depravity, greater than many both in power and malice, more liberal in giving, more profuse in sinning, strenuous in arms, but more so in compassing *the perdition of souls*, why dost thou roll thyself in such an inveterate blackness of crimes, like a man drunk with wine pressed from the vine of Sodom? Why dost thou voluntarily heap upon thy royal neck such masses of sin? Why dost thou not rather exhibit thyself to the King of all kings (who hath made thee superior to most of the kings in Britannia both in dominion and in nobility of descent) better behaved than the others? Didst thou not, in the very first years of thine adolescence, violently destroy with the sword, with the spear, and with fire, the king your uncle, with his very brave soldiers, whose faces in battle were like the faces of young lions? After thou hadst obtained thy desire of a tyrannical kingdom, wert thou not allured by the wish of returning to the right way or perhaps by the remorse of thy conscience, and didst thou not transform thyself from a raven to a dove, and salutarily remove thyself into the caves and peaceful retreats of the Saints in which thou hadst then a great faith, having previously ruminated much in private concerning the way of godliness and the laws of the monastic life? But now we deplore thy horrible relapse, as of the sick dog to his vomit." Maelgwn had parted from his wife when he turned monk, and when he resumed his crown he omitted to take her back, but took his nephew's wife instead, and lived in incest and adultery with her. From the language used by the inflated Gildas during the short reign

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[r] See Gildas p. 13. Gale.

of Constantine ap Cador, we may infer that Maelgwn of Mona, king of Gwynedd, was then rapidly advancing towards the sovereignty of Britannia, but with a character too profligate and inconstant for his brilliant qualities and grey-headed experience to offer any hopes of peace or liberation to the desolated and half-conquered island. What is said of his contriving "perdition of souls" indicates to us that he took part in the religious impostures of his day.

§ 3. The chronology of his reign[s] has given much trouble. Tysilio, who introduces the fictitious reigns of Conan and Vortipore, brings down the commencement of it to 551; and the interval between that year and 542 or Camlan must belong to the turbulent disputes between Gwynedd and Cornwall and their respective partizans, which were terminated by the fraudulent proceedings at the congress of Aber-Tivy. His and the other chronicles intimate that Maelgwn died of the Mâd Velen or Plague of the Yellow Serpent, in a Convent-Church, situated in the Morva Rhianedd, to which he had withdrawn in order to avoid the ravages of the contagion; but they abstain from stating the years of his reign and the epoch of his death. His son Rhun, his grandson Beli, and his great grandson Iago succeeded him in Gwynedd, but not over Britannia, and have therefore no place in the Kingly Chronicles of the island.

They place, in immediate succession to him as Insular King, one Caredig, whose reign is a tissue of fables without the possibility of truth, to whom no parents, children, or relations are assigned; no number of years is assigned to his reign, nor any mention made of his death, abdication, or other exit from the throne. Knowing with

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[t] See the laborious endeavours of Mr. Wynn, published in Cambr. Reg. 2. 515—26. But the Chronology in the Red Book of Hergest is a worthless document.

whom we are dealing, we may suspect some national relapse, and a renewal of such machinations, as it was the especial business of Tysilio's pen to suppress and to replace by a fictitious or cryptographic history. The more so; as it is known that Maelgwn died loaded with the execrations of the Mithriacs, and with sinister[t] prophecies, really composed (or at least rendered more specific) after the fact, but ascribed to Taliesin the chief bard of his court and directed against him and his son. Matthew of Westminster (on what authority I cannot tell) states that Caredig became generally hated by his subjects, that the more eastern Britons united themselves to the Saxons to wage war against him, and ultimately drove him beyond the Severn into Wales; and adds, that at the same time nearly all the British clergy retired into Wales, Cornwall, and Armorica. He mentions no termination of Caredig's life or reign, and, entirely passing over Cadvan, says the British lost the diadem of their kingdom, till the times of Cadwallon. He describes a complete interreign of anarchy; but has made it too long, for he should only have said "till the times of Cadvan." That æra, to which history allots no king, includes the preaching of Saint Austin in Kent, the refusal of Dunawd Abbot of Bangor to cooperate in the conversion of the Saxons, and the destruction of the monastery of Bangor and its 1200 monks by Ethelfrid the pagan king of Northumberland, at the alleged instigation of the Christian king Ethelbert and Saint Austin. All this, I say, occurs under the name of no crowned king at all, unless the indefinite and undying Caredig

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[t] A surprising worm shall come
From the Morva Rhianedd,
To avenge iniquity
Upon Maelgwn Gwynedd, etc. Arch. I. 27.

is supposed to spread his name over it. But there is no circumstance to render it probable that any such monarch reigned. Caredig son of Cynedda Wledig founded Cardigan; and Dr. Owen identifies him with the Caredig whose romance is inserted in the Brut. That clearly shews him to have been unable to discover any authentic traces of the latter; for it was a stretch of human longevity to say, that Cynedda began to reign in 328 and died in 389, leaving a son Caredig who died in 613! That was an alarming[u] morsel of Cambrian Biography. A momentary effort to take the lead in Britain, made by the men of Caredigion, has probably been cyphered as the reign of king Caredig.

At all events, the throne of Britain was unoccupied, for some reason or other, immediately after the combats of Bangor is y coed and Chester; and then Cadvan ap Iago was elected at Caerleon upon Dee otherwise Chester. The date is in dispute inasmuch as the date of that combat is, being variously fixed from 607 to 612. But the[v] monument in honour of "Cadvan the wisest and most highly esteemed king of all the kings" ought to set that question at rest. Its date is 607. And, as it cannot be a monument in celebration of his memory when dead, it can be nothing else than one erected upon the occasion of his election to that dignity. If we trace back, in conjecture, the generations of Cadvan ap Iago ap Beli ap Rhun ap Maelgwn Gwynedd, and allow him thirty years to be elected the brenin Prydain oll, and twenty-five years to each of his progenitors for their epoch of paternity, we shall perceive that 607+30+25+25+25+25=477. That would make Maelgwn be 65 at the Camlan revolution, or elevation of

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[u] See Camb. Biogr. in *Cunedda* and *Cadvan*.

[v] See Edw. Llwyd in Cambro-Briton 1. 15.

Constantine, in 542. Nine years from the overcad of Camlan to his own election at the Aber-Tivy would make him 74 in 551. And a calculation, making him about 65 at the Camlan, would stand in harmony with the Triad which says that he was the *Chief Elder* in the court of Arthur. Matthew of Westminster[w] limits to five years the duration of his insular reign, in which case we should have him dead in 556, rather than in 560 when Dr. Owen[x] supposes he died. But his life might extend thus much beyond his reign, if he had been for some time an inmate of the convent in whose chapel he vainly sought refuge from the mâd velen. He had in the course of his vicious and inconsistent life been a monk, and may have ended it thus. British history does not, directly, number the years of Cadvan. But it states that Cadwallader retired to Rome and died in 688 having previously reigned twelve years, and that his father Cadwallon ap Cadvan reigned over all Britain forty-two years. So that Cadvan must have died about 634.

§ 4. But before we close our conjectures on the obscure chronology of Maelgwn, there is an observation of some moment to be made upon him. In the earliest years of his adolescence, and in order to obtain a tyrannical kingdom, he slew the king his uncle, whose soldiers for the obstinacy of their resistance were likened unto lions, and the means he employed to kill him were the sword *and fire*. Maelgwn was a prince of Gwynedd, and the royal uncle whom he destroyed in early youth in order to inherit his crown must have been the king of his own country. But these circumstances strongly point to the death of Gwrtheyrn Gwynedd. That king was burnt with fire in his own beleaguered castle, situate in a deep glen of Snowdon in Gwynedd.

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[w] Flores Hist. p. 104. [x] Cambr. Biography.

Shall we suppose that two kings of Gwynedd perished by rebellion and treason, both of them by fire, and both within the space that could intervene between the last days of Gwrtheyrn Gwynedd and the first appearance of Maelgwn Gwynedd? Add to this, that Vortigern is the only British king to whose character Gildas shews[y] any indulgence or for whose fate he seems to express any sympathy.

It is apparent that Tysilio and Nennius describe the same occurrence to which St. Gildas adverts in his invective against Maelgwn. That treacherous youth was directly instrumental in the hands of the Ambrosians to destroy his uncle Gwrtheyrn king of all Britain, by which means Gwynedd fell into the hands of his father Caswallawn Llawhir and his own; and into whose higher and insular throne he long afterwards, and in the decay of the Ambrosio-Arthurian fanaticism, substituted himself. We cannot tell how long a time was occupied, first, by the residue of Vortigern's reign subsequent to the massacre at the Stonehenge, and secondly, by that foremost division of the *Hobgoblin Dynasty* which is called the reign of Aurelius Ambrosius. But the dark historians of Britain give us to understand, that much time was consumed in acting those scenes, which they spend so few words in narrating. Subsequent to that massacre the Saxons waged a successful war and took London, York, Lincoln, and Winchester. Subsequently to those events again, Vortigern made a series of unsuccessful attempts to build the Dinas Emmrys in Snowdon, and only desisted after reiterated failures and the sinister prophecies of Merddin Emmrys. However false, or mystical and allegorical, some of these statements may be, they clearly indicate some considerable duration of time. Only then, and after them, *begins* the

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[y] See above p. 68.

Aurelian Ambrosian reign, and that war[z] of undefined length in which Ambrosius destroyed Vortigern. The support of the Gwynethians and Gwyddelians, of the Saxons under Hengist, Æsca, Octa, and Ebissa, and of the more respectable Romanizing provincials, was probably that which delayed his fate; the treason of his nephew Maelgwn, that which precipitated it. The historians (writing under the Gwynethian dynasty, *which descended from Maelgwn*) remove the scene of it out of Gwynedd, one into Gwent or Siluria, and another into Dyved or South Wales, while tradition proclaims and subsisting monuments avouch that he perished and was interred in the fastnesses of Gwynedd. Their motive is obvious enough.

The time of Maelgwn's birth is unknown, and in the preceding remarks it is brought down somewhat low, to avoid making his age (though Arthur's chief elder) too great at the epoch of his election at the Aber-Tivy. Taking the year 477 as that of his birth, and taking 17 for his "primi adolescentiæ anni," the death of the king his uncle would fall upon the year 494. The first invitation of Hengist in 449 is described as the very[a] first act of Gwrtheyrn's reign. Therefore we should not place his elevation to wear the insular crown more early than 448, from which year there are 46 years to 494; and if he was

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[z] British wars ran into length, for obvious reasons. Some few hours disposed of the civilized kingdoms of Prussia and France on the fields of Jena and Waterloo; but six years did not suffice to the French empire to conquer either Catalonia or Biscay.

[a] His "quartus annus" in App. 11 Cotton ad Nenn. might require some consideration, were not A. 11 C. so raving wild a document as to preclude all criticism. The quartus annus in which Hengist arrived was A. D. 401! Vortigern's accession was 28 years after Stilicho's consulship, and therefore in 428, or 433, and the fourth year of his reign 27 years anterior to the first! This instructive document adds that ab anno quo Saxones venerunt et a Guorthigerno suscepti sunt usque ad Decium et Valerianum anni 69. Who, in the name of wonder, were Decius and Valerian?

30 years old when he began to reign, he would thus have died aged 76. But it is certainly allowable, and is perhaps altogether more judicious, to reject not merely the fictitious and intrusive reigns of Aurelius Conan and Vortipore but also the six years of time allotted to them in the Brut; or, in other words, to fix the congress of Aber-Tivy at the third instead of the ninth year after the Camlan revolution. In which case Vortigern, by the process I have employed, dies an. æt. suæ 70, and A. D. 488, being the same year in which the Britons butchered Hengist. That they both perished in the same fatal conjuncture of affairs, is likely enough; and that Vortigern died first (and therefore not later than in the same year) is an assertion of the Brut which, although [b] relating to Vortigern, may not be untrue.

I should more clearly explain myself on this head. Of course the ages assumed for times of accession and of paternity rest on mere abstract probability, and are arbitrary as to fact; and therefore the result of them cannot even be offered as a positive conjecture. The object, though important, is purely negative, viz. to shew that, as Vortigern seems otherwise to have been Maelgwn's uncle and victim, such fact is *not* discredited by any thing in their chronology.

The two adult sons whom he is supposed to have had when he came to the crown form the only impediment to our reckoning. The Chronicles, written under the auspices of the Gwynethian princes of Wales (who were the lineal heirs of Maelgwn and Caswallawn Llawhir) and with all possible dissimulation and disguise both political and religious, have woven together so much falsehood, that it is difficult to apply the valuable hints furnished by Gildas. I will repeat

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[b] In thus expressing myself I do not feel conscious of exaggeration. It really comes to that pass.

my conviction that Saints Vortipore and Cathtighearn, Gwrthevyr and Cyndeyrn, never lived, and were dæmons of the mysteries, whose very names[c] have been disfigured and disguised. Gwrthevyr was almost an Arthur for victories, such as we can scarce believe were really gained. His deeds of prowess were direful and demoniacal, of which the description is borrowed from the berserkers of Odin. Like the phantom kings Emmrys and Uthyr, he makes his exit by poison; and the mode is not very credible, viz. by smelling at a medicated flower. After death his remains[d] were burnt, and the bones and ashes lodged in a brazen colossal effigy of a man, to remain for a palladium to Britannia; and while they were concealed from the enemy, this country could never be subdued. But Vortigern of the Untoward Mouth revealed them to the Saxons for love of Rhonwen, his pagan wife. The bones of St. Gwrthevyr rank with the head of Bran ap Llyr (the sea-raven king) as an occult palladium; but Bran is the god Cynvelyn father of the god Melyn, and, since the man Cynvelyn king of Trinobantes was father to Caractacus, Bran was in the jargon of the mystics father to Caractacus. The land of the Cymmry, and especially their big-stone circles and such other erections, were under the patronage of Bran,

Cymmry carneddawg
Y tat Caradawg,

The stone-piled Cymmry
Of the father of Caractacus,

and had been so from the time that Owain ap Mascen, the first king after the Romans, introduced his mysteries. And the bones of St.

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[c] See above p. 44, 5.

[d] Triad 45. ser. 1. Tr. 10. ser. 2. Triad. 53. ser. 3. Tysilio et Lib. Basingw. p. 252, 3.

Gwrthevyr rank with the hidden dragons of Lludd ap Beli ap Manogan, as being the subject of Gwrtheyrn Gwrthenau's disclosure to the Saxons for love of Rhonwen. But he surely never marred the counsels of Britain by any fatal disclosure, save that of the Neo-Druidic plots. Therefore Gwrtheyvr's tomb and the cave of the hidden dragons seem to be all as one. They denote the masonic mysteries and deadly plots of the sanctuary.

In truth, the Hobgoblin Dynasty does not so properly commence with the pretended Emmrys as with the pretended Gwrthevyr. It commenced with the first overthrow of Vortigern's authority, and was interrupted by his restoration. That his restoration was preceded by the actual government or supreme administration of *an aged man*, I infer from a passage[e] of the Maelderw; this person seems to have been, like Maelgwn, "chief elder" under a Gwrthevyr as ideal as Maelgwn's Arthur, and cannot have been a real Gwrthevyr, because the latter could not be advanced in years.

Benlli the Giant (or the Hero) was a redoubted warrior in Gwynedd, whose fable is preserved in Nennius. He refused to lend his ear to the preaching of St. Germanus, or to admit him within his walls. Benlli's slave Ketel took compassion on the Saint and gave him a bullock, ready killed and cooked, for his dinner. But Germanus after he and his people had eaten of it, brought it to life again. The Saint called down fire from heaven which consumed Benlli Gawr, his house, and all his family, and gave his kingdom or principality to the slave. This is just the fable of Vortigern repeated. For he was persecuted by Germanus, and burnt with his house and household by fire which Germanus called down; and the Legend of

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[e] Cited in the Appx.

St. German related as of Vortigern king of Britannia exactly all the above circumstances, which (as Ralph of Chester observes) Gildas[f] has transferred from him to a certain Benlli. Vortigern becomes identified with Benlli. And Ben-lli is a name invented to fit Vortigern. It signifies "the source of the deluge." So "ben-gwaed gwin" signifies that[g] banquet, which was the source and river-head of all the blood-shed which ensued. Deluges were the standing types of invasions or overwhelming oppressions, and especially of the Saxon conquest, in Bardic language. But Vortigern was the flood-head of the Saxon inundation. Benlli had once had a son Beli from whom the Bards of Beli have been said to take their title; and that name means havoc or devastation. Beli ap Benlli was entombed upon Salisbury Plain, he occupied the "bedd yn y Maes Mawr," where he remained grasping in his hand the dreadful and gigantic weapon called the blade-spear,

Balch ei llaw ar y llavnawr.

Is not Beli ap Benlli the same grim phantom as Gwrthevyr ap Gwrtheyrn, and his armed figure in the vault of the Stonehenge the same brazen colossus which was made for Gwrthevyr? I look upon Gwrthevyr, a name travestied from the Erse dialect, to be the first title under which the Apollinares of Wiltshire honoured their deity, at the time of bringing over the head of Bran from Ireland and transferring the chief seat of their superstition from Killair in Meath to the Maes Mawr, while Irish ministers were still employed or at least Irish names remembered. Of the Erse name of Saint Cath-tighearn,

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[f] Nennius Pseudo-Gildas, frequently cited as Gildas. See Ranulph. p. 223. Gale.

[g] The Gododin feast. See Dyhuddiant Elphin *v.* 107.

the Battle King, artfully softened down into Saint Cyn-deyrn, the Chief King, (whence the hybrid name St. Centigern) the same may be said. When we treat more particularly of the Saints, and apply the torch to that pretended hagiography which is really both paganism and polytheism, we shall see him also vanishing like a spectre of darkness, and some others with him. Besides their main wish, to ravel inextricably the thread of Vortigern's history, the bards had this meaning, formed according to their habits of allegory; viz. that Vortigern, having previously been a protector and father to the system, did now by the novercal counsels of Rhonwen oppose and persecute it, and so forth.

The main obstacle to the foregoing chronological experiments is disposed of. What family Gwrtheyrn had was by the daughter of Hengist, to whose womb I would refer the persecuted Pascentius or Pasgen who with Irish aid struggled for the crown against the Ambrosians. If Gotta, said in the Triads to have been the son of Gwrtheyrn and Alis Rhonwen, be as I suppose a mere nickname (like the names given to his mother) and signifying *the Goth*, he may either be the same or another. British history also keeps in total obscurity the parentage and connexion of this memorable king. A pedigree printed in Camb. Qu. Mag. 1. 486. describes him as Gwrtheyrn ap Rhydeyrn ap Deheuvraint etc. but displays its absurdity by placing him four generations earlier than Coel grandfather of Constantine the Great, and nine generations earlier than Maelgwn, collaterally Another, inserted into Gale's Nennius c. 53, makes him the son of *Gwrthenau*, which is nothing but his own agnomen or nickname. If his country excelled in any one thing, it was pedigree. Not the ability but the good will to declare his birth and origin was wanting. These

silly falsehoods were not invented for their own sake, but in order to suppress and stifle truth. My inference from Gildas is, what in the abstract has probability, that he was lineal representative of Cynedda [h] Wledig, and elder brother to Caswallawn Llawhir, who succeeded to the kingdom of Gwynedd by his death. To disguise the treason by which his brother and nephew supplanted him, Tysilio terms him [i] lord of Erging and Eyas, otherwise Gewissea, or Wessex, and avoids stating in express terms the [j] fact of his being a Gwynethian. For the same purpose was contrived king Caswallawn's incredibly long reign from 443 to 517, and two links of the same king's descent from Cynedda were (as I have shewn) expunged from his pedigree. His war against the Gwyddel of Mona, over whom Einion Vrenin had reigned, may be regarded as a blow struck against the interests of Vortigern or Pasgen.

The obscure Ymarwar Lludd Mawr relates to the attack upon Gwrtheyrn of Gwynedd by Maelgwn of Mona, and, generally, to the war waged in the name of the solar deity against him, Hengist, and Pasgen with his Gwyddelian allies, subsequent to the day when (as that poem says) "the battle was caused over the wine-feast."

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[h] Who is himself termed *Guthiern the Great* by Albert Le-Grand, which must intend to express the same appellation compounded of gwr and teyrn. Saints de Bretagne. p. 245.

[i] These territories included the modern Wiltshire in which the great national sanctuary and place of assembly was situated, and were, for that reason, the principal and highest, if not most habitual, residence of the insular monarch. Brut G. ap Arthur writes it Ergyng and Ewas. Brut llyvyr A. has Ergig and Euas. See the Bruts p. 209. p. 236. p. 240. Geoffrey in his History and in his Merlin uniformly renders it "the Gewisseans," and his Welsh translator translates it back accordingly. Ergengl in Hereford has nothing to do with it.

[j] See Nennius c. 40. Golyddan *v.* 27.

Bear[n] and lion, diffused from the pools of light,
The steep hill is the boundary of his free effusions.
Too much seeking is irksome. Far best are oppositions.
Before his array of the[o] great graves
The faithful bestir themselves, the circles break forth, the van-
guards of hosts
To Cadwaladyr's conflict coruscantly glorious.

The Aurelian Ambrosian war against Gwrtheyrn was that which displayed

The reflexion of shields in the onset and the sword-bearing,
In the conflict of Cadwaladyr against the lord of Gwynedd.

Maelgwn Môn is alluded to in those lines which prophesy of the Prince of Mona,

Indeed it shall be the rightful heir of Mona,
Head of battle-array, respecter of the mailed ones,
Radiant dragon protecting the people of Britain,
Depth of the prophecy of the augur of the wrens.

The very ancient bard who composed this ode thought or affected to think that he beheld in young Maelgwn the promised cad-gwaladyr of the Ambrosian prophecies.

If we conclude that Gwrtheyrn was the king of Gwynedd whom his youthful nephew Maelgwn of Mona destroyed with sword and fire, we obtain the strongest sanction to our former conclusion, that Emmrys Wledig was no real chieftain, but the tutelar spirit of a turbulent theocracy.

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[n] The Mithriac lion, being likewise the Arth gwrys of the Septem-trional mystery, is that power whose visible course is bounded by the mountains which intercept the natural horizon.

[o] Before the bryn y beddau, mount of graves, at Stonehenge, the Mithriacs are mustering their strength, and the inmates of the cors, caerau, or stone circles, are coming forth in their wrath.

§ 5. The pretended Caredig and the hiatus in history between the reigns of Maelgwn and Cadvan have been discussed by anticipation. There is reason to presume that the transactions of this interval were equally disgraceful and disastrous, and little more than that can be said concerning them.

The reign of Cadvan is remarkable for no events known to us; and, as its auspices were glorious, its tenor does not appear to have been disastrous. That of his son Cadwallon (Cardwella and Cedwalla, rex infandus, of Beda) was incessantly active and often greatly victorious, and therefore he was almost idolized by his people, notwithstanding the hideous atrocity and perfidy of his character. He was himself an "irregular bard" and a "soldier of Arthur;" and he was the immediate patron of Avan Verddig of the Red Spear and Avaon the Bull of Battle, two of the bloodiest of the Bards of Beli. Llywarch the Aged lived to mourn his fall, and begins the dirge of Cadwallon thus,

> [p] He who, before Cadwallon came,
> Formed him, achieved for us fourteen pitch'd battles
> And sixty combats for loveliest Britannia.

It is not easy to understand how his death in the battle of Denisburn arose

"From the counsel of strangers and the unrighteousness of the monks,"

but the insinuation shows how Cadwallon stood related to the church. His remains were embalmed and enclosed within a brazen equestrian statue at Caerleon upon Dee, underneath which was a consecrated crypt wherein mass was said for his soul. The transactions, which this language serves to describe, fell but little short of apotheosis.

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[p] The world's productive energy, by forming Cadwallon in his mother's womb, procured for us these advantages in war.

When Caerleon was taken by Egbert and became Chester in England, the image of that martial monster was destroyed by him. Mr. Turner well says, "the swords of Cadwallon and his army seemed the agents "destined to fulfill their cherished prophecy. The fate of the Anglo-"Saxons was now about to arrive. Three of their kings had been "already offered up to the shades of the injured Cymmry. An Arthur "had revived in Cadwallon." Cadwallon was "vir, ut ipse[q] dictitabat, in exterminium Anglorum natus." A half sister of Penda king of Mercia by the father's side, and by the mother's a princess of Wessex, bore to Cadwallon a son, who was thus allied in blood to the two most puissant Heptarch houses. He bestowed upon the child that name which the Great, or Ambrosian, Prophecy had announced as fatal to the Saxon invaders, Cadwaladyr.

§ 6. Cadwallader (Ceadwalla and Cedwalla of Beda and the Saxon Chronicle) for a moment gave promise of fulfilment to the songs of Emmrys. He availed himself of a complete anarchy which for ten years had prevailed in those countries (in which there was no king acknowledged, but every thane did what was good in his own sight) to subjugate Wessex (otherwise called the Land of the Gewisseans, from Gewis great-grandfather of Cerdic) and the isle of Wight; with which countries he was connected through his Gewissean mother. He held undisputed possession of those countries for two years, united Sussex to Wessex, and carried his arms into the kingdom of Kent. There his brother Mul[r] was burnt by the Cantians in a house, in which he had

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[q] W. Malms. 1. p. 19.

[r] This warrior is called Wolf, not Mul, by John Brompton, pp. 741. 757. He was probably surnamed the Wolf, because of the warlike energies which are said to have distinguished him.

taken refuge. Ceadwalla avenged his fate with a cruelty not conformable, as it is said, to the general goodness of his character.

That the Ceadwalla[s] of Beda is the Cadwallader of British authors appears to me indubitable; although the Saxon historians give no intimation of their Ceadwalla being the king of the Britons, and the Saxon Chronicle styles him son of Cenbyrht, son of Cada, son of Cutha etc. and sixth from Cerdic inclusive. That his wife Kendritha was Cenbyrht's daughter is not unlikely. Giraldus Cambrensis (cited by Ralph of Chester) condemns Beda, the Romans, and the Lombards, for corrupting the British name Cadwallader into Ceadwalla; and observes that, being king of the Britons, he was styled king of the West Saxons, because he reigned over them likewise. Stephen Eddius, who wrote but about thirty years after his death, terms him "an exile of noble race, coming from the deserts of Ciltina[t] and Ondred," and gives no farther explanation concerning him, but extols his virtues. The name Cedwalla is not treated by the Anglo-Norman writers as though it were a Saxon name, for they usually employ that same word to[u] express both Cadwallon, a most undoubted and detested Briton, and this king of Wessex; and, although the printed Beda also calls the former Cardwella, some MSS. have only Cedwalla. That remark has great weight; both nations would scarce use the same proper name.

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[s] Beda iv. c. 12. c. 16. v. c. 7. Beda Epit. p. 279. Chron. Sax. A. D. 685. 688. Ranulph. Higd. p. 242, 3. Gul. Malms. Pont. p. 346.

[t] The tracts of Ciltina and Ondred (now changed into Chiltern Hundreds) were upland forests, in the parts of Mercia which bordered upon Wessex. From these fastnesses Ceadwalla made his descent upon the last mentioned kingdom. Ciltina and Ondred seem to be taken from British names meaning the Woodlands and the Solitude.

[u] Fl. Alcwinus v. 262. J. Wallingford p. 527. H. Huntingd. 3. p. 329. W. Malms. 1. p. 19.

Cadwallader, of the blood of Cynedda and Gewis, began his conquest of Wessex in[v] 685. The Bruts assert that, during an illness which he suffered, his subjects broke out into civil war, to which calamity a pestilence was superadded; and he fled into Little Britain. "Cadwallader (as the prophecies ran) called upon Conan." But upon consulting with Alan prince of that country, and finding that the oracles of Emmrys were not to be relied upon in his favour, he retired to Rome, aud soon after died in sentiments of devotion.

The British Bruts, Beda's Epitome, and the Saxon Chronicle all agree in fixing this event to the year 688; which I take to be the true year, although Beda's fuller and earlier work has it 689. Cenwalch died in 672, and the Gewisseans remained in anarchy "for *about* ten years," when Ceadwalla took in hand the conquest of their country, and held it during two years. But as he began to reduce it into his possession in 685, Beda's "about ten years" seem to have been near thirteen years. That he died upon the 18th of April in the same year 688, is also the concurring statement of the Britons, the Saxons, and the Pope.

In the long epitaph which Pope Sergius placed upon his tomb it is said,

> Culmen, opes, *sobolem*, pollentia regna, triumphos,
> Cedwalla armipotens liquit amore Dei.

It is therefore certain that this sovereign had issue; and in that we shall find new proofs of his being Cadwallader. Cedwalla being in the undisputed possession of Wessex, Wight, and Sussex, voluntarily

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[v] The grant to St. Wilfrid in Twysden's Decem Script. p. 2207, dated A. D. 680 is a false document, or else Twysden has miscopied the date.

resigned his crown into the hands of Ina his[w] cousin, and his friend, who immediately on receiving it from him proceeded to levy the weregild of his brother Mul. In this transaction there is no allusion to any children of Cedwalla. It is neither credible that he would abdicate in such manner as to sacrifice his own family, nor has the good Ina been ever accused of reigning to the prejudice of others. He laboured to civilize his people by law-giving, and at last laid down the burthen of his crown and followed in his pious cousin's footsteps. Yet Cedwalla beyond all dispute had a family, which he left. These were the children of Cadwallader, who took up their lot in Britain, and were his heirs in respect of that country, but in whose behalf he made no claim upon England. Ivor prince of Britanny took possession of Wales for Idwal Iwrch son of Cadwallader, (who must have been a boy, since his father died little if at all more than thirty years old) but kept the advantages to himself, and was regarded as an usurper. Rodri Molwynawg, son of Idwal Iwrch and grandson of Cadwallader, reigned over the Welsh and a few other tribes. To the strong argument arising from the *soboles* of Cedwalla I may add, that not only Cornwall, and Devon, but Somerset itself was held by Ivor and Idwal, and afterwards by Rodri Molwynawg, who lost them, and was forced to retire into Wales. These facts seem to indicate the union which had existed between the British and West-Saxon states, and the somewhat imperfect possession of the latter by Ina.

The plague which drove Cadwallader from the island could not have been that which distressed South Britain and[x] Northumberland

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[w] Florence of Worcester styles Cedwalla the frater, and Ina the germanus, of Mul. p. 567, 8.

[x] Beda 3. c. 27.

in 664. Neither do the Saxons or Anglo-Normans intimate, that any plague at all was connected with his pious retirement. It also appears, that, if civil disturbances induced him to retire, they were not the result of Saxon disaffection. By Eddius, by Beda, by W. Malmsbury, and indeed by all, he is described as a man excelling both in abilities and in virtues, in war and in peace, "regiæ indolis nobile germen," and highly esteemed and venerated by his English subjects.

Perhaps the moral pestilence of his native land was that which made this island hateful to him. In his reign the bard Golyddan flourished, and loudly proclaimed the heathenish doctrines and ambitious hopes, in the anticipated triumph of which the king had received his name. His[y] printed song is "of Cadwaladyr and Conan." But we learn from the Triads that Cadwallader experienced the extremes of insult from this fanatical ruffian. One of three fatal slaps with the palm of the hand was that given to Cadwallader by Golyddan. And the king took effectual vengeance. For another triad of "infamous strokes with the battle-axe" includes that upon the head of Golyddan, when he had struck Cadwallader. A country in which such men as Golyddan could lift their hands against their sovereign, and in which the blow which vindicated him was accounted infamous, might well be despaired of and renounced in disgust. And prophecies, of which such fellows were the priests and expounders, might naturally fall into disrepute with him. We may fairly suppose, that the civil dissensions which preceded his abdication were not unconnected with the revolt and death of Golyddan Vardd; and we are tempted to conjecture, that the "illness of long suffering" (clevycawd o hir nychdawd), during

[y] Others remain in MS. See Owen Dict. in *Mabon*.

which his British dominions fell into disorder, was the result of Golyddan's outrage. Where the same faction are both actors and narrators, we may rather misdoubt the innocuous nature of *slaps*. A question naturally rises in our minds. Why not resign the government of the Britons, whom he could not manage, and retain that of the West Saxons, Jutes, and South Saxons, by whom he was esteemed and honoured? The answer must be, that he could not remain in Wessex without marshalling his Saxon forces against the land of his father and forefathers, or being himself assailed from thence. The Cadwaladyr of the songs of Emmrys, upon which Golyddan harped, was not intended to obtain the sovereignty of the Saxons and then to rule them faithfully as this good man did, but to extirpate them root and branch. The "great sanctuary of the dominion" and that of Abury were in the West-Saxon territory. They belonged by all human right to the nation of Cadwallader's mother, but Bardism never ceased to claim them as the demesne of its god Belenus. The causes of dissension could not be scarce, and evil dispositions abounded. Cadwallader could neither instill a love of peace and moderation into his Celts, nor, situated as he was, do justice to his Saxons. Under these circumstances, Cadwallader, who had previously shewn marks of religious feeling, withdrew in disgust to the capital of the Christian world, and shaking the British dust from his shoes and the damnable errors of the apostasy from his heart he also abandoned all British titles of honour, and presented himself before Sergius merely as Rex Saxonum; and was cordially entertained on his way by Cunibert[z] king of Lombardy. In

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[z] Whose historian Paul Warnefrid vi. c. 15, has unaccountably thought fit to change the name of Cedwalla into that of Theodoaldus, and even to hitch that name into Pope Sergius's epitaph on him. Perhaps he perceived that Cedwalla was no Saxon name, and endeavoured to Teutonize that Welsh appellation.

689 Ina[a] held the congress of Saxon princes at Campden for the settlement of affairs with the Britons.

Tysilio says that Cadwallader repaired to Rome and underwent penance, y benyd; but he might with more sincerity have said y vedydd, that he received baptism. So completely did the undeceived Cadwallader renounce and put away all the pollutions of the system in which his father had reared him, that he submitted himself again to the baptismal font; and the church of Rome regarded that of Britain as so merely pagan (for baptism[b] by heretics stands good) as to administer to him that sacrament which no man can receive twice. He gave up the un-christian name, almost like Mars or Bellona, which a savage superstition had bequeathed to him, and received from the Pope as godfather the name of Peter, as Sergius himself declares,

nomen et inde suum
Conversus convertit ovans, Petrumque vocari
Sergius antistes jussit, ut ipse pater
Fonte renascentis.

This epitaph, which the ancient chronicles cite, was discovered at Rome in the pontificate of Gregory the 13th; and under the verses was some Latin prose, saying, hic depositus est Ceadwalla qui et Petrus rex Saxonum sub die duodecimo Kalendarum Maiarum indictione secundâ qui vixit annos plus minus triginta etc. He was christened by pope Sergius on Easter day 688, and departed this world of troubles before he had laid aside the white garments of a neophyte, adhuc in albis constitutus, that is to say, before the octave[c] of Easter. His "illness of long suffering" and perhaps his

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[a] Powel's and Lloyd's Hist. p. 11. John Castoreus cit. ibid.

[b] See Hooker Eccl. Pol. 5. c. 62. Jer. Taylor 7. 478.

[c] See Ducange in *Alba.*

"fatal slap" had left him but enough of life to drag his bones to Rome and lay them there.

I am justified in having[d] said, that the Brut was composed more in national shame than pride. We see the Saxons merely indulging their pride, by concealing that their esteemed Ceadwalla was the Briton, and mistating the nature of his alliance to the house of Cerdic and Gewis, while they faithfully describe his conquests and so much of his reign as concerns them. But we see that the Powysian chronicler, who himself had known Cadwallader and Golyddan and most of the actors in these scenes, was afraid even to allude to the fact that Cadwallader had reigned honourably over two Saxon kingdoms and overrun a third; honorific as the fact was, and within an ace both of anticipating the days of Egbert and of restoring this island to the children of Cynedda Wledig. Nay, we find not in his pages that Cadwallader during his twelve years of reign ever bore arms at all, or did any act as a king but abdicate his crown. That Cadwallader's prowess and Golyddan's conduct were still to a certain degree appreciated in Wales at the beginning of the thirteenth century, appears from these verses of Philip Brydydd,

> [e] O gwnaeth Golyddan gyvlavan diriaid
> Bid ar ei enaid yr enwiredd,
> Taraw Cadwaladyr colovyn elyflu.
>
> If Golyddan committed a pernicious crime
> Upon his soul be the iniquity,
> The smiting of Cadwallader pillar of overwhelming hosts.

Since then, the influence of Geoffrey of Monmouth upon British history has obliterated what little fame he retained; and the accounts

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[d] Above, p. xxxii. [e] Arch. Myvyr. 1. 378.

of his reign in Mr. Warrington and other modern authors are nothing but the story of his abdication as it was dressed up by Tysilio. That person could not have related the various acts of Cadwallon's son, without also alluding to the apostasy and its crimes, and shewing how the ministers of confusion marred the reviving fortunes of their country.

The abdication of that noble youth put an end for ever to the kingdom of Britannia, and nothing was left but princes of Wales or Cymmro. When Cadwaladyr put on the crown of Brutus the oracles of Aurelius Ambrosius were arrived, "venit jam carminis ætas," by his great successes the prophecy seemed advancing to its completion, but by his retirement and death the magic scroll was rent and given to the winds. The nation no longer looked for Cadwaladyr and Cynan, nor could aspire to the unbennaeth Prydain. The God, whom they had abandoned, took unto himself his own to enjoy a better crown, and finally gave away their kingdom to a strange people.

§ 7. The kingdom of Britain ended when Cadwallader departed from the island, having struggled for its existence during about 260 years from Owain Finddu to Cadwallader. With it, seems to have ended the national prevalence of Neodruidism, and the authority of the Ambrosian oracles, at least as a thing publicly avowed and governing the counsels of the state. The Bards, though they continued to be a public mischief, no longer pretended to the exercise of power. The remnant of the Britons were left to reflect upon the strange scenes which were brought to a close, and to take their retrospect of the last two centuries and more. Their learned men had to choose, whether they should deliver to posterity the awful and instructive tale, as it really was, or cover up the shame and absurdities of the past under a complete system of false history, borrowed from the habitual *eironeia*

of the bards. They were too much tainted with false doctrine in their own hearts, and the honour of their fathers and grandfathers was too deeply implicated, for them to adopt the better course. The task was undertaken and executed by Tysilio, son to Brochvael the prince of Powys who (early[f] in life) commanded the Powysians at the combat of Bangor in Maelor. From the election of Cadvan to the retirement of Cadwallader, there elapsed seventy years of such confusion and slaughter, as gave opportunity for grossly falsifying the events of their duration. The fifty years next above those, and which intervened betwixt Maelgwn and Cadvan, the same during which Britannia seems to have owned no monarch, were of course much more at the mercy of the historiographer. Being years, in the transactions of which the parents of some living persons, including his own father Brochvael, were implicated, he has treated them with a cautious vagueness and obscurity, and has stated the smallest possible number of facts. Absolute fable, or else mere irony, begins to shew itself in the legend of Caredig, about 120 years before the close of the monarchy. The utter confusion of affairs, the want of leisure or materials for criticism, and the declining intellect and civilization of the country, would not have sufficed to give complete success to such a daring attempt so moderately well[g] executed, if it had not been, that nearly all those who were capable of furnishing the refutation had their feelings interested in maintaining the fiction.

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[f] He must not only have been young in 607, but an elderly man when Tysilio was born, if that author was in reality Brochvael's own son.

[g] The Welsh name Iago is a translation of Jacob or James, and in a MS. of the tenth century *Iago* father of Cadvan is written Jacob. Yet Tysilio had so little judgment as to place a king Iago in his series of fabulous heathen kings and 700 years B. C. Owain is one of the corruptions of Eugenius, yet the same historian introduces that name into his Trojan series.

After the Romans, and when Fl. Constantinus Augustus rebel emperor of the West had been rejected by the islanders and (with him) the last rag and remnant of the Cæsarean purple, the following succession of powers prevailed in Britannia.

Owain ap Maxim Wledig.
Gwrtheyrn Gwynedd.
Fanatical interreign.
Gwrtheyrn Gwynedd.
Long fanatical interreign.
Cystennin ap Cadwr of Cornwall.
Qu. Brief interreign?
Maelgwn Gwynedd.
Long anarchical interreign.
Cadvan ap Iago, ap Beli, ap Rhun, ap Maelgwn.
Cadwallon ap Cadvan.
Cadwallader ap Cadwallon.

Perhaps it would not be possible to point out another instance in which the annals of mankind have been obscured and perverted in a similar manner. The profane nations used to invent or borrow splendid fictions to fill up the blank of their earliest ages, and as Livy says, consecrare origines suas; but it seldom, if ever, happened for the last decline and fall of a nation to be recorded with such an unlimited freedom of inventing and suppressing, as leaves to posterity an ænigma to decipher.

DIGRESSIONS

IN

ILLUSTRATION OF PARTICULAR TOPICS.

DIGRESSIONS.

ON THE NATION OF GILDAS.

[FROM P. XIV.]

THERE is perhaps nothing more remarkable in the ordinary style of Celtic researches or speculations, than the neglect with which the members of the several nations treat the antiquities and literary remains of each other. That neglect which they complain sometimes of experiencing from those who are strangers to their local curiosities, they are themselves the first to display reciprocally one to another; and, by so doing, have contributed to justify the low estimation in which their systems have been held. Whilst eager to claim and arrogate to their own little nation, at the expence of the others, every name or circumstance that enjoys a particle of celebrity, they will satisfy themselves with the slightest and most conjectural arguments which they can draw from home, coolly pretermitting, as if nonentities, all the arguments possessed by those others whose antiquarian cabinet they would despoil.

It is impossible to speak of the Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores of the Rev. C. O'Connor without respect. But the unilateral temper of almost all Celtic research by Celts is very perceptible in his otherwise diligent and learned labours. In his desire to shew that Ireland can produce older testimonials than any other European nation (except the classical ones) he supposes, or speaks as if he did, that Britannia had no literature in prose or verse, saintly legend, pedigree, or written tradition whatsoever, anterior to Caradocus Lancarbanensis, i. e. to the twelfth century.

In a spirit conformable to this assumption, he claims the well-known Gildas for a Scot or Hibernian author, not indeed born on Irish soil, but in those settlements which the Scoti had before that time established on the Caledonian coast. And the claim is urged in as total neglect and disregard of all British learning to the contrary, as if the unanimous voice of the Cymmric people were but a grain of dust when weighed against the conjectures of a Gael. Let us see, of what value those are.

1. Mr. O'C. cites the Life of Gildas ascribed to Caradoc, a monk who wrote three centuries after the Scots had been possessors of his birth-place, to shew that he was a Scot; and farther relies upon the fact, that he went over to Erin and made some sojourn there, in order to acquire a knowledge of the philosophical and other doctrines taught in that island. It is true, that he went over to acquire whatever Erin could teach him; and his doing so is no better evidence of his being a Scot, than the studious sojourn very likely made by this author at Louvain or St. Omer can be, to prove him a Fleming.

2. He alleges that the father of Gildas was named Nau, and that the said name is an Erse one. If the latter assertion be a correct one, the former unfortunately is quite untrue. One of the monastic writers of his legend so styled his father; but others of them called him Caw, which is[a] likewise well and generally known to have been his name. It is so spelt by John Capgrave and Albert Le-Grand. And the Britannia Sancta, observing the discrepancy, gives the name in the alternative. But there exists no doubt upon this head; and Caw is a word of British etymology.

3. Gildas (observes Mr. O'C.) is an Erse name. It is the word gilla (otherwise giolla), a servant or minister, which, as he says, may by a known idiom be[b] exprest Gilda, and which was borne as a name

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a See Englyn. y Clyweit st. 57. Bonedd y Saint p. 29, 31, 39, 42, 44, 47, 49, 55. Cambrian Biography in *Caw*, *Gildas*, and *Aneurin*. Angar Cyvynd. *v*. 36.

b As in the case of Gilda Mac Cormac, a Scot author in the Erse tongue; who has been sometimes confounded with the British historian. See Hist. Gild. ed. Gale ad calcem.

by more than 1000 Scoti whom he could mention, but by no Briton whatever if Gildas were not one.

Since Gildas is an appellation significant in British, (see above p. xiv.) we are not bound to acquiesce in the suggestion that it is the Erse word Gilla. But I would not dismiss it too hastily. That Erse title, humble as it may sound, really denoted those ministers of religious mysteries among whom Gildas went to seek for new lights. The Irish potentate who held possession of the Stonehenge, and from whom Pendragon conquered it for his brother Ambrose, was Gilla-muri, i. e. Servus-muri, (for that enclosure of stones was the sacred mur, cawr-mur, and go-vur) and he was perhaps about as meek in his servitude as the servus servorum Dei. The title is synonymous to ceile, a servant, by which the ceile dia or servants of God, vulgò Culdees, an association of religious mystics formed some few years after the date of Gildas, are understood to have called themselves. The same person had been instrumental in organizing the system of bardism, and in that capacity had assumed and borne the appropriate title of Alawn. And it does not exceed probability, that, when he had completed his course of Irish studies, and become an adept in them also, he was, as such, styled a Gilla or Gilda.

4. Mr. O'C. asserts that Alclyde, his birthplace, was a Scotic or Dailriadh city, and not a British one. That assertion is, for importance, instar omnium; for if he were born in Scotia we should presume him a Scot, and a Briton if born in Britain. But it is one utterly false and untenable. Alclwyd, Arclwyd, or Caer ar Clwyd, is a British name; and the town was situated in that northern division of the island called in general Prydyn, and in the territory of those Cymmry who are (accurately, as to pronunciation) styled Cumbri, and a part of whose dominions is yet called Cumberland. Its inhabitants were also called the Strathclyde Britons and the Strathclyde Welsh, and more anciently, the Attacotti. Jocelyn in his life of Kentigern styles it regnum Cambrense and regnum Cambrium. Llywarch Hen of Argoed was a native of those parts, from whence he was driven into Wales by the misfortunes of civil war. Rhydderch[e] Hael, who

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[c] The Rodarchus Largus who figures in Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Merlinus*.

reigned at Alclyde in or very soon after the lifetime of Gildas, and whom Mr. O'C. was by his theory compelled to pronounce a Scot, was an undoubted and famous Briton. Rhydderch, Morgant, Urien, and Gwallawg, (says the App. Cotton. to Nennius) were the four principal rulers between whom Cumbria was divided. Rhydderch son of Tudwal son of Cedig was brother in law to the Welsh bard Merddin ap Morvran, and a vassal prince under Maelgwn Gwynedd. When Beda wrote his history, Alclyde was not in the Scotic territory, but lay "above it, to the south." 1. c. 12. Sinus. . . . ubi est civitas Britonum munitissima usque hodie, quæ vocatur Alcluith, ad cujus videlicet sinûs partem septentrionalem Scoti. 1. c. 1. And it continued to be a British city until A. D. 756, when it surrendered to the Northumbrians and Picts. Nor was it merely *a* British city, it was *the* British city, Dunbritton or Britannodunum, so called as being the barrier fortress of the Strathclyde Britons against their Scotic neighbours. That British people were not finally eradicated till A. D. 878, when the remnant of them emigrated into Flint and Denbigh, where they transferred to their new settlement the name of Strathclyde, and to its principal river that of Clyde, "parvam Trojam et Xanthi cognomine rivum."

5. A fifth objection is, that if Gildas had been a Briton he could never have held such abusive and reproachful language concerning that nation. The abuse directed by one foreign and hostile nation against another is of one sort, and that which a discontented or offended native pours forth is very different. That which the *Moniteur* of Buonaparte lavished upon this country, is easily distinguishable from the railings of English demagogues and agitators against the transactions of their own native land. And if Mr. O'C. had perused Gildas with an eye of criticism seeking truth only, he would have clearly seen that such a compound of invectives and lamentations could only flow from the heart of a Briton, indignant and alienated, but struggling with all the passions that can afflict the breast of an exile from his ruined country. But if that superficial and ill-founded remark can have any show of force, it must consist in Gildas speaking *worse* of the Britons than of the Scots; for his problem is not merely to take him away from Britain, but to add him to Scotia. Let us see, then, what are the courtesies which this supposed Scot bestows upon

his own people. Will the reader credit, that the following are the only phrases by which the Scots are described in his works, robbers, rabid wolves, filthy herds of Scots covering their hang-dog faces with hair while they neglect to cover the shame of their bodies with raiment, and bloody pirates?

I am not aware that any sixth reason is offered by the Irish historiographer.

The father of Gildas was Caw lord or chieftain of the Cwm Cawllwyd, and sometimes styled Caw o Brydyn i. e. Caw of Northern Britannia. He was son to Geraint (son of Erbin) who was slain at Llongborth, supposed to be Plymouth, where he had the command of naval and other forces. Caw was father of a very[d] numerous and renowned family. Several of his children made themselves conspicuous as saints, or what was so called; and thus the family of Caw came to be styled one of the *holy families* of Britain. Gildas, under his name of Alawn, had conjointly with those who styled themselves Gwron and Plennyd superintended[e] the Bardism of all Britain in its most awful times. Scarcely less famous than Gildas is his natural brother and brother bard, styled Aneurin ap Caw, of the Golden Grove in the Cwm Cawllwyd. Three of the children of Gildas ap Caw, Dolgar, Gwynnawg, and Noethon, were honoured by the Britons as Saints. All that Gildas either wrote or translated, and all that others wrote for him or affixed his name to, was relative to the concerns of Britain. The Clyweit is a work replete with quotations from very ancient poems, and from the high date of the most recent of the names contained in it, must be ascribed to the twelfth century. It quotes a verse out of the British poems of "Gildas ap Caw," and that verse is composed in pure Cymraeg.

If any thing remains to be done, towards demolishing this fabric of rash conjecture, it is to enquire what Gildas himself, who ought to

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[d] Called by a poet,

The flood of Caw, and his multitude
Upon the lands of the earth.

Arch. 1. p. 35.

[e] This point admits of curious illustration at some future time.

know, says upon the subject. And he seems to me to speak with sufficient plainness. In his introduction he says, that he will carry down his historical sketch to "the last victory of his country," postrema *patriæ* victoria, quæ temporibus nostris Dei nutu donata est. That victory was the battle of[f] Mount Badon in Somersetshire. He says, that he can apply a prophecy of Isaiah "to his country," meritò *patriæ* illud propheticum potuerit aptari. Further on, he speaks in the character of a native, or citizen, as opposed to foreigners. "Why, "forsooth, should natives affect to conceal that which the surrounding "nations have not only known, but are casting in their teeth?" Quippe quid celabunt *cives*, quod non solum nôrunt, sed exprobrant jam in circuitu nationes? It seems a hard thing for any one to tell Gildas to his face that he is a Scot, when he has at least three times signified that he is not.

The writer of these remarks has no motives for partiality, as between the Cymmry and the Gael, and is only desirous to see fair play between them.

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[f] From his particular mention of that battle, and of his own age at the time it was fought, he has been sometimes absurdly styled Gildas Badonicus. Ages after Britannodunum and the Strathclyde had passed into the hands of the Albannaich, he was also styled Gildas Albanius; and from his proficiency in various learning, Bardic, Erse, and Catholic, Gildas Sapiens.

DIGRESSION UPON OWEN'S DICTIONARY.

[FROM P. XLVI.]

THE Dictionary of the Welsh language published in 1803 by Mr. William Owen was the first work of the kind that had so much as the boast and outward appearance of either complete or critical lexicography. And it has continued to be the only such. Consequently the frequent use of it, however little satisfactory, has been and is a matter of necessity to all those who have occasion for such a book of reference. That which is unique in itself and indispensable to us we are apt to imagine must be tolerably good. The excessive reputation of this work, on the author of which some have ridiculously conferred the title of the Welsh Johnson, may be ascribed to that cause. Nor should I have any wish to disturb that reputation, were it not manifest that the continued popularity of that which exists must effectually deter any person or association of persons from attempting, at much labour and risk, to replace it by something better. With this in view, I have thought it better to add some to the remarks which have been previously offered.

In page xlvi, after exposing some glaring contradictions, I referred to two others equally gross. Upon reflexion, it seems better to present them to view, together with some similar ones not before alluded to.

Gweini fawd hyd brawd ys dir.
Fortune must be followed till doomsday. *Fawd.*
The service of prosperity will be sure till doomsday. *Gwein.*

Dyviau bu gwartheg a amygant.
On Thursday it befell that they guarded the kine. } *Ardant.*

Dyviau bu gwarthau a amygant.
Thursday there was the disparaging of what they defended. } *Cycnovant.*

Cred i Dduw nad derwyddon darogant
Ban dôren' Din Breon braint.
Believe in God that the Druids have not prophesied,
When they shall break the privilege of Din Breon. *Cuniad.*

Cred i Dduw nad derwyddon darogant
Ban torer din breon braint.
Trust to God that the Druids will prophesy not,
When the privilege of the hill of legislature shall be broken. *Darogan.*

Caeawg cynnhorawg bleidde maran.
Caeawg the foremost in giving aid, with
A spreading course like the wave on the shore. *Bleidde.*
Caeawg the supporter of the depredating rank. *Dyscrain.*

Diliw dyn yn vyw ni's gadawswn.
By the flood! not a man would I have left alive. *Brynach.*
Not the shadow of a man would I have left alive. *Diflais.*

Er amgelwch bywyd.
For the solicitude of life. *Amgelwch.*
For life's security. *Rhyswydd.*

Aervaidd yn arvel.
Daring slaughter in the hottest war. *Aervaidd.*
Accustomed to dare the battle. *Gowel.*

Ystadyl cad cynnygydd.
The prepared proponent of battle. *Cynnygydd.*
The threatener of the indecision of battle. *Ystadyl.*

Cenedyl ysgi.
The dagger generation. *Cadeithi.*
A tribe of depredation. *Ysgi.*

Duw differ nevwy
Rhag llanw lled ovrwy.
God of heaven defend,
Against the spreading influence of tyranny. *Attaraw.*
God preserve the heavens
From a flood of wide spreading. *Govrwy.*

Hwyr dy ogledd.
Late is thy protection. *Caman.*
May it be long before thy period of rest. *Gogledd.*

In the above instances, the author sometimes makes free to change the words themselves, and makes no scruple of assigning to the same words in the same sentence of the same author divers meanings. What confidence can any one place in a writer, who cannot make up his own mind as to the meaning of what he cites, nor even remember what he has himself written a few pages before? Some of these interpretations are as utterly absurd in themselves, as they are discrepant from the others.

Strange as it must seem, that any work should exhibit such passages, it is stranger yet, that the same gentleman in 1832 sent forth a second edition of the work, which boasts of containing great additions, but in which not one of the monstrous discrepancies noted here and previously is reconciled or corrected! They all reappear verbatim. Even the three translations from Cynddelw[f] all different (and, I believe, all wrong) are to be found in their respective places. Those instances in which the lexicographer stands self-convicted have been selected of preference, in order to make sure that the error is out of his own mouth and not out of mine; but they serve as an index or criterion, whereby to estimate the care and accuracy brought to the execution of the rest of the work.

Of the numerous words, unsuppressed, and occurring in this dictionary, whose Latin origin is so palpable, that the denial of it would be a mere puerility, I am not aware that any one has credit for such origin, except Crist, the name of Christ, (which is left without etymology) and the words formed upon it; all of which are printed in Italic letters. Even here, we cannot get beyond tacit admission; for the root, Christus or Χριστος, is omitted. At the same time, those words which relate to the discipline or constitution of the Christian church, and which came into use together with the name of the Lord or subsequently, are furnished with the most unaccountable Celtic and

[f] See above p. xlv.

Pseudo-Celtic roots. As an instance of peculiar and unparalleled hardihood, I will cite the following;

" Evengyl. *s. f. pl. t.* au. (ev—eng—yl) What is spread abroad, manifested, or declared. The gospel."

Evangelium, το ἐναγγελιον, from ev, eng, and yl! Ev is said to be "a pronomial agent governing the action of a verb, without the discrimination of person." Eng is said to be, as a substantive, " space, amplitude," and as an adjective, " large, spacious, loose, at large, free;" but no instance of it is, or perhaps can be, quoted. Yl is said to mean, " that is pervasive, that is apt to move, a moving agent. It is a termination of a class of words." So it is; and that is all that it is! No instance is quoted or likely to be quoted in support of the other interpretations. So much for evengyl or the gospel, and for the unworthy trickery from the operation of which the Founder of the gospel has alone been permitted to escape.

In the edition of 1832 not one of the words, mentioned in p. xlii. as being suppressed, is restored. Nor is one of the fictitious and laughable etymologies of the original work displaced.

Not only has the Gaelic language been neglected in that work; but there are scarcely any allusions to that modification of the language of Ancient Britain which exists in its Armorican colony. By keeping these out of sight, etymological delusions are fostered. For instance the Armorican British words avyel, evangelium, avyelist, evangelista, sufficiently bespeak their origin, while they add external evidence to the intrinsic absurdity of ev, eng, and yl.

ON THE VECTURIONS OR GWYDDEL FICHTI.

[FROM P. LXII.]

THAT very ancient effusion the Dirge of Pendragon ends with the line "teithiawg oedd iddi." And a short poem, called a prediction or foreboding, is tacked on to it by the copyists, although it has not the remotest connexion with it. It is one of those bardic prophecies, which they were in the habit of subsequently adapting to foregone facts and antedating; and it relates to the affairs of the nation of Vecturion Picts. It must have been composed in the decline of the ninth century; that is to say, after Kenneth II. had overturned the kingdom of Pictland, and not long after the Pictish chiefs who took refuge in Denmark and Scandinavia, returning from those countries, had made (with the aid of the Northmen) their last unavailing efforts to regain their country. Events, which happened in the reigns of Donald V., Constantine II., Eth the swift-footed, and Gregory, kings of Scots. Thus much may be inferred from the sixth verse of it. Our inability to explain its allusions makes us the more sensible how as nothing is our knowledge of Pictish history. "Their memorial is perished with them." That one of those unfortunate princes was connected by some affinity with the Britons of Merioneth, and was assisted by them, may also be collected from it. It is possible, rather than probable, that Welsh genealogy may furnish some other traces of the fact. The repetition of the number five seems to point to some particularity in the Pictish constitution.

A PREDICTION.

Five chieftains there shall be
Of the Gwyddelian Picts,
Evil-doers by disposition,
[g] Of a murderous generation;

[g] Perhaps alluding to the cruel murderers of king Alpine, whose crime entailed the ruin of the Pictish kingdom.

Five others there shall be,
From the dwelling-place of the Northmen ;
A sixth, a wondrous prince
[h] Until the reaping of the seed sown ;
A seventh, sent by old age
To the[i] green-sward beyond the water ;
An eighth, of the line of Dyvy,
Who shall not be estranged from prosperity
Till Snowdon shall be invoked
In the outcry of Menni,
Disastrous unto Dyvy.
I have worshipped Eloi.
At the time of my being with the Celi
Heaven shall be my dwelling.

These lines were evidently written in consequence of, and presently after, the unfortunate events last alluded to ; and, in spite of their prophetic form, were little else than a morsel of plain narrative. Now they are, and I suppose will ever remain, an enigma in history.

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[h] Probably meaning until a mature age of life.

[i] Meaning to his grave, situated either beyond some British river or firth, or else over seas in Northmannia.

DIGRESSION ON THE BATTLE OF CATTRAETH OR GODODIN.

[FROM P. 51.]

THE Gododin of Aneurin ap Caw, a noble Briton of Cumbria, was translated by Mr. E. Davies, and explained as a collection of elegies on the slaughter of the Britons at the convention of Stonehenge. Mr. Davies's explanation was rejected by Mr. Sharon Turner, as being founded upon a translation bearing little resemblance to the original. Though he boasted of "setting down the literal construction as nearly as it could be obtained," it certainly is the most licentious version of any author that I ever saw. Mr. Probert confirms Mr. Turner's views, in a translation less vague and licentious, but exceedingly bad, and in many parts producing unintelligibility so pure and absolute that it cannot be called translation; at least, if we assume the original to have had a meaning. These critics understand Aneurin to celebrate a disastrous battle fought at some place in the north of this island, then called in British Cattraeth, between the Saxons and Mynyddawg of Eiddin chief of Gododin. The territory of Gododin (in syntax Ododin) is supposed by them to be the same as that of the Otadeni of Ptolemy, whose capital town Curia Otadenorum is placed by Camden at Corbridge on the Tyne.

Besides the one which bears Aneurin's name, three other poems relate to the disaster of Gododin, the Gorchan Maelderw, the Gorchan Cynvelyn, and an anonymous one. And another, the Canu y Cwrwf, alludes to the places, though not to the disaster which occurred there. I am persuaded that the four first allude to the bloody banquet of Vortigern and Hengist, and the last to the Stonehenge. Of the four poems, there are reasons to suppose that the Gorchan Maelderw, is of an earlier date than any other; and it seems to remount more nearly to the time of the action, and to be cotemporary with the dreadful wars

which arose out of it; and its 309 verses are in such a language and spelling as I cannot, in many parts, at all interpret. It is not to be assumed, that the names here in question were first applied by Aneurin to the objects which they are employed to signify.

The first point of connexion between the Gododin and the massacre of Stonehenge is the admitted fact, that Aneurin describes his slaughtered Britons as being intoxicated by the mead of a great banquet. The disputed point is whether they fell on the day following a banquet of which they partook too freely among themselves, thereby losing their discretion and discipline, or *at a banquet* of which they partook with their Saxon destroyers. That point of difference is justly stated by Mr. Turner as the hinge of the whole controversy. But it should be added by me (to do my case justice) that although the existence of fighting and killing at the banquet goes far to decide the point for me, the existence of other fighting not at the banquet proves nothing against me; for it is indisputable, that the coup de main struck by Hengist at the feast was followed up by a most sanguinary collision between the two factions.

Mr. Turner has faithfully rendered the verses of G. Cynvelyn, but he will find them hostile to his theory.

Three warriors and threescore and three hundred
Went to the tumult at Cattraeth;
Of those that hasten'd
To the bearers of the mead
Except three none *returned.*

O'r sawl yd gryssiasant
Uch vedd venestri
Namyn tri nyd *atcorasant.*

Mr. Probert has translated the second line

From over the mead vessels,

though uch no more expresses *from* than menestyr does a vessel. In the corresponding passage of Aneurin

O'r sawl yd gryssiasant *uch* gormant wirawd

he has yet more boldly rendered it "*after* too much beverage." But

Mr. Turner is right that uch, over, upon, has here the force of *to*, and it stands in relation to the verb atcorasant. If 363 went *to* the feast, and 3 returned *from* it, 360 perished *at* it.

The circumstance of Britons carousing together, wasting the night in jovial excess, and so losing the next day's battle, will not account for the remarkable words of the same poem,

> Bearing woe shall come
> The threatener of Melyn,
> With blood round about him
> *Covering the froth*
> *Of the yellow mead.*
> Like blood shall surround him
> In the battles of Cynvelyn !

These lines tell us of a massacre committed at a feast and during its actual continuance, so as to mix the blood of the slaughtered banqueters with their yet undrained and brimming goblets; and they threaten its author with vengeance to be wreaked on him in the field of battle.

They likewise intimate to us that it was an outrage to the god Melyn, whose oracle and temple was the Ebyr Hen-Velen. Other passages shew that the place of feasting was the actual scene, and not merely the foregone cause, of these disasters; and most of them extol the magnitude and splendour of that place.

> Never was there constructed a hall so extensive,
> Nor so great a sea of the hue of slaughter.
> . . . . . .
> The hall would not have been made so tumultuous
> Had not Morien been a second Caractacus.
> . . . . . .
> Never was a hall constructed so imperishable,
> Nor did Cenon, king of the treasures, gentle-minded,
> Remain seated on his lofty throne.

And again, long after,

> Never was a hall constructed so free from imperfection.

The following rhapsody points to the same conclusion,

He was a savage bull
In the court of Eidin;
Arrogantly he called
For the most excellent mead.
He drank the liquid wine.
There was a conflict of cutting down.
He drank the transparent wine
Seemingly in[j] *defiance unto battle.*

The nature of the Cattraeth meeting is illustrated by a minor Gododin poem ascribed to Aneurin. Arch. Myv. 1. p. 21. and printed from a more complete MS. in Davies Myth. p. 574. It confirms most of the preceding remarks, and furnishes new ones of great moment.

Pedwar lliwed
Pedwar miled
Miledawr[k] *byd,*
Aesau yn nellt,
A llavyn yn gwallt
Un o bedror,
Gwr gwylias
O gyrn glas
Medd meityn.

In the four troops
Are four beasts of chase
For the huntsman of *the world,*
The shields into splinters,
And the blade in the scalp
Of one of the four,
A man who was dividing the fluid
Out of the blue horns,
The mead, but a while ago.

[Gwr-theyrn Vawr]
Gwr[l] teyrn vawr
O blith porphor
Porthloedd[m] vyddin.

[Vortigern the Great.]
A man who is a great prince,
Of the number of the purple-robed,
Is the purveyor of the host.

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[j] Aervaidd yn arvel.

[k] The great circle of "the dominion" was a pantheistic type of the world. It is termed by Taliesin gwrthgloddiad byd and govur byd, and by Golyddan *v.* 39. simply byd, the world.

[l] This is an instance of the cyvrinach y beirdd. Gwrtheyrn's name is actually inserted, by dividing the parts which compound it, totidem literis, though without the aspirate which one letter receives when in composition.

[m] Thus in the Gododin *v.* 780; which enables us to correct the word *bedin.*

Bre, eich Tutvwlch baranres tost bengwaed gwin.
Yr medd a vawr yv, yd aethant aeryv dros eu hawfin.

From the mount, the shout of Tutvwlch to the embitter'd assembly at the blood-causing carousal.
Having greatly drunk of the mead, they went to the slaughter over their satiety.

Gwyar van waith, Er cadw cynrheith Bu cyviewin.	Gory was the place of action, As for the depository of the great laws It was likewise.
Cynan Cenon, "Teithygir o Von Ar vreint goelin."	The speech of Cenon, "I shall have been conveyed from Mona To an ominous privilege."
Tutvwlch cyvwlch A oreu vwlch Ar van caerau.	Tutvwlch was an apt man To effect a breaking through On the place of the Caers.
Gan Vynyddawg Bu adveiliawg Eu gwirodau,	With Mynyddawg Disastrous were Their compotations.
Blwyddyn hiraeth Er gwyr Cattraeth, Ammaeth yd meu, etc.	The twelvemonth's longing Of the men of Cattraeth, The possession of good cheer, etc.

I will not fatigue the reader by raising for him all the inferences with which this poem teems. It begins and ends with these lines,

Arvanghynnull
Anghymman dull.

Not assembling in arms
Was an incomplete arrangement. See Aneur. *v.* 244.

How they apply to the wars of the Otadeni, I cannot imagine; nor need I say, how they apply otherwise. But the main point here is, that the Stonehenge feast was the annually recurring solemnity of May-Day, and consequently "a twelvemonth's longing" to those who were entitled to take their seats at it. Such also was the banquet of

Mynyddawg Eiddin. This point, which, in my view of it, is nearly decisive, may be established more fully. The Gododin says

Gwyr a aeth Gattraeth buant enwawg,
Gwin a medd o eur vu eu gwirawd,
Blwyddyn yn erbyn urddyn devawd. p. 4. *v.* 231.

The men who went to Cattraeth were illustrious,
Wine and mead out of gold was their beverage,
The dignified usage at the yearly entertainment.

The song of the Maelderw not only informs us that many bards attended at Cattraeth on this occasion, but that on former occasions they had done the like, under better auspices and a better leader than Mynyddawg.

Bu gwell prid, pan aeth *canwyr* i Cattraeth,
Oed aillt gwr gwinvaeth calon ehelaeth,
Oed gwr llwyd einym, oed lurig cein ym,
Oed gerth, oed cuall ar gevyn e gavall.

Better used to be their reward, when the songsters came to Cattraeth,
There was another wine-giving man, of liberal heart,
Grey-haired[h] was our man, he was our bright coat of mail,
He was awful, he was dangerous to take on your back.

Aneurin fixes more closely the nature of the transaction, by saying,

Cenau son of Llywarch magnanimously bold
Could not endure the scandal to the bardic-congress (gorsedd),
To the[i] seneschal with his vessels full of mead. p. 8.

The company who perished at Vortigern's carousal are expressly termed by Golyddan *canwyr* which means *bards*.

I will now turn to certain moral considerations. Owain Cyveiliawg prince of Powys, after describing the turbulent and riotous character of his drinking companions Madoc and Meilyr, subjoins this in apology for their brawling;

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[h] This important line has been alluded to p. 155.

[i] Or "The seneschal" viz. he, Cenau, being the seneschal.

We have heard the ruler came to Cattraeth to distribute mead.
Upright their purpose, their armour painted,
The retinue of Mynyddawg by their quiescence
Got the hateful reputation of leaders of the tumult.
They did less than did the lechers in the jeopardy of Maelor;
But his well-formed song set free the[j] prisoner.

This passage compares the slain at Cattraeth to the slaughtered monks of Bangor in Maelor, to whom also the slain at Stonehenge are compared in the Meib Llyr. It asserts the innocence of their intentions, but mentions the suspicions incurred by them. So in the Gododin we read,

O unrighteous action! thou art called righteous
Before our[k] giver-of-much-liquor, wall-shelter'd from battle,

(which signifies, that those who had slain the guests of Mynyddawg came forward to justify the action they had committed) and again,

To kill him in the narrow cleft was to level privilege,
'Twas a primary law for Owain to ascend to the plain of the race-course.

A remarkable passage of the G. Cynvelyn[l] should find its place here.

Tyllai ylvach
Gwryd govurthiach.
Rhwyd gwyn, rhag Eingl iawn ladd.
Iawn vriw yn vrynial.
Rhag cannwynawl can
Lluch yr dwg dyvel
Disgynnyal allel
I bawb dewr dysel,
Trwy hoel, trwy hem,
Trwy gibglawr agen,
Ac eur ar drein.

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[j] Viz. Aneurin. The translation (as it is called) in Evans's Ballads iv. p. 313. suppresses the whole of this passage.

[k] Rhwy-wyad-wr, a treble compound. *v.* 602.

[l] For the text and readings of this poem, see Myvyr. 1. p. 60. p. 84. n. and Davies Myth. p. 618.

The bickering potency
Could pierce through the small furnace.
Blessed net, against Angles a just slaughter!
Justice was broken at the mound.
Before the habituated unto song
Is gleaming light to guide the combatant
That he may be able to descend
Into every daring quest,
Through spikes, along brinks,
Through the crevice of trap-doors,
And there is gold on[m] his path.

Independently of their extraordinary nature in other respects, these verses raise the question of justice or injustice, with an implied confession that the proceedings of the Gododinians were not just upon any general principles, but only on special grounds and as directed against the Saxons.

Now, in an ordinary battle, what question could there be of good or evil intentions, what blame could attach to the commencers of it, what evil suspicions could arise from placid and demure behaviour, what privileges or ceremonial laws could claim respect from the enemy, or how could the slaying of the Saxon warriors require an apology for its justice?

The Gododin slaughter connects itself with Hengist's by the number of the slain. Mr. Turner makes this admission. "That 360 nobles intoxicated at a previous banquet should have perished in this battle, and that 360 should be the number said to have been massacred by Hengist at his feast, are coincidences that lead the mind to believe that there may be some connexion between the two incidents." Hist. Anglos. 1. p. 300. The number of Britons at the feast of May-Day according to Tysilio was 462; 360 perished, according to the author cited as[n] Britannicus by Alfred of Beverley; 360, according to

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[m] Or, "and the gold upon thorns," meaning the furze-bush, to which the fire of Cynvelyn is compared afterwards *v.* 52.

[n] There were three MSS. now lost from which the monk of Beverley may have obtained this number, the original of Geoffrey, the original Tysilio, and Walter's Latin Tysilio.

Golyddan, who (by one of the Bardic equivocations) puts the half, 180, for the whole; and according to Aneurin 363 was the entire number, of whom 360 perished. There is reason to think, that 360 was the number of the principal college of Neo-Druid Bards. It is said that Llochlomond contained 360 islets, and in each islet a rock, and on each rock an eagle. When those eagles assembled on one rock and screamed, it was known that some calamity impended. Roberts's Tysilio p. 144. Yet Gervas says, that they assembled once a year and, screaming aloud, proclaimed the fates of the ensuing year. Gerv. Tilb. de Regn. Brit. p. 44. This is one of various instances in which the bards are designated as birds, and especially eagles.

Another argument is from the names and characters in the Gododin. Of the characters in the Gododin, Mynyddawg is supreme. The whole band who perished at Cattraeth were his retinue and banqueters in his luxurious hall. Next in eminence is a certain Caeawg. But mynyddawg is an adjective signifying *mountainous* or, as applied to a man, *mountaineer*, and caeawg is another meaning *crowned* or *wearing a garland*. Mr. Davies conjectured that they were descriptive epithets for Gwrtheyrn Gwynedd and Hengist. At that rate (exclaims Mr. Turner, with no felicity) we might translate Cicero, a bean, or Naso, a nose! p. 299. We might not, and simply because Cicero does not mean a bean nor Naso a nose; though cicer does mean a vetch, and nasus a nose. Those have the distinguishing form of proper names, but the adjectives caeawg and mynyddawg have it not. That form may be seen in Cian, Bleiddan, Manogan, Manawydan etc. and if Aneurin had spoken of Caeogan and Mynyddogan the case would have been different. He in a marked manner varies the terminations, into mynyddawg and mynyddawr, (as it were, mountainous, and mountaineer,) in speaking of that person. The former occurs seven times, and the latter twice. That variation is a point of cyvrinach, indicating it to be no real name. Mr. Turner should not have been averse to such interpretation, having himself but just before maintained that the word Flamdwyn means Ida king of Northumberland, who never is mentioned by his name. I believe Mr. Davies was very right, as to the character of these words. Though he ought to have seen that Caeawg is the title of a Briton, and moreover

that the identical Briton so styled is pointed out to us by name, viz. Hyvaidd the Tall, son to St. Lupus of Troyes.

Mynyddawg was the sovereign and chief commander of the illustrious retinue who died at Cattraeth, the mynawg maon or "ruler of the people." Amidst the exaggerated praises dealt out by Aneurin, he receives none, except the word mwynvawr, which signifies a man of dignified courtesy. Aneurin terms him the greatly wretched or miserable, Mynyddawr *vawr dru.* Presently after he implies a censure, by saying

Of the retinue of Mynyddawg *destructive in regard of the Deity,*
(O osgordd Vynyddawg *am Dwyv adveiliawg*)
A chieftain have I lost and a man of my kindred.

We have seen him reproached with lending an ear to those who justified the unrighteous act, while he sheltered himself from the perils of the contest. We have seen his grey-headed predecessor extolled, evidently at his expense, by the Maelderw. And I believe the line which winds up Morien's eulogy,

Dyrlyddai veddgyrn *aillt* Mynyddawg,

is intended to signify, "he deserved the mead-horns (i. e. the presidency at the festival) *instead* of Mynyddawg." When all his ill-fated cosgordd were fighting for their lives, Mynyddawg did not draw a sword nor perform a single exploit. In the general slaughter Mynyddawg was not slain. Yet Mynyddawg was not one of those whose escape is recorded with joy; they were three, and his name is not among them. It seems therefore that Mynyddawg presided as a mighty prince "of the number of the purple-robed" over a gorgeous feast, of which the guests perished in a dreadful tumult, in the exploits and perils of which he had no share, and obtained no praise, but rather reproaches, from the bards who sang the dirge of the combatants. All this strangely savours of Vortigern. It goes far to bring conviction to the mind.

It is possible, that a battle of the Otadeni may have been a series of struggles prolonged through a whole week. But it is highly improbable. That the "yearly entertainments" at the sanctuary of the dominion were jubilees, not limited to the kalends of May, but

extending through a week, and that the fatal day of Vortigern was the Thursday in that week, appears from the bardic remains. See above p. 57.

The Praise of Lludd (which does not mention Lludd, but extols the rites and mysteries of Neo-Druidism) describes the proceedings of a May jubilee during its seven days, in language worthy of the worst days of Druidism.

The Moon's day, they assemble,
They go over the wide plain.
The day of Mars, they dispense
Wrath to their enemies.
The day of Mercury, they enjoy
Pomp to the utmost.
The day of Jove, they set apart
The objects of their worship and of our desires.
The day of Venus, a day of fullness,
They almost swim in the blood of men.
The day of Saturn . . . . . .
The Sun's day, verily and
Indeed they are collected
In five ships and five hundred, etc.

The poem entitled the Malice of the Concealed Sin also enumerates the sacred days, and shews the fatal day to have been a Thursday. Aneurin's Gododin does the like, but in a different spirit. Mic Dinbych (as a mode of complaint against Maelgwn, who was persecuting bardism) querulously deplores the cruelties inflicted on the British synod by Hengist. Aneurin's lines on the days of the week are not a part of his querela, but of his triumphant eulogy. The Saxons, stained with the blood of unarmed men, and preserved from their plots, of which (as O. Cyveiliawg says) their very demureness furnished some inkling, stood exposed to the utmost phrenzy of rage in a majority of the numerous assembly gathered together for the cyntevin. Their own valour, aided by such Lloegrians, Gwynethians, Gwyddelians, and North Britons as stood by them and Vortigern, could barely save the remains of Hengist's retinue after suffering much loss. This is what Aneurin describes. Of the Thursday he speaks not querulously, but

the reverse, saying, "On Thursday their destruction became certain," and what follows on Friday, Saturday, Sunday, and Monday is the havoc made among the Saxons and royalists by Madoc, Hyvaidd the Tall, and other Britons. It is necessary to observe that distinction. But, in the triumphal as in the querulous song, Thursday is the cardinal day, decisive of the fate of the 360 Britons to those who are deploring it, and decisive of that of the Saxons to those who are exulting over it. Nothing will explain this part of the Gododin (*v. v.* 643—52) but the history of that awful feast.

Day of Mars, they put on their strong covering.
Day of Mercury, they prepared their enamelled armour.
Day of Jove, their destruction became certain.
Day of Venus, there were corpses all around.
Day of Saturn, harmless proved their joint exertions.
Day of Sol, crimson were their spears all around.
Day of Luna, blood was seen as high as to the hips.
Gododin records not that, after the toil
Before the tents of Madoc, when he was returned from it,
There was more than one man out of a hundred returning.

That the Saxons are the party thus disposed of at the rate of 99 per cent, appears from the second canticle or stanza of the Gododin, which is purely encomiastic and triumphal, and contains the three[o] last lines. One of the most offensive defects in these authors is their contempt of the antecedent; *they*, *their*, *them*, etc. will follow in successive lines, and be found to mean different parties; see this strongly marked in Golyddan above p. 50.

It must be observed that a certain Eidol is three times celebrated in the Gododin. They are as follow.

From the wine-feast and the mead-feast plenteously furnish'd
I know the woes of Hwrraith mother of Eidol the strenuous. p. 9.
The joyful receptacle of the[p] world was profuse,
Eidol of harmony boldly order'd in the circle of the[p] world
The gold, and great horses, and intoxicating mead. p. 10.

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[o] Almost verbatim; the variations are of no moment.

[p p] See above p. 190, note k.

Eidol addoer crai, granwawr gwyn,
Eidol's heat is become cold and his cheek pallid. p. 11.

A person called Eidiol and Eidol in the Brut of Tysilio, and Eidol in that of Geoffrey ap Arthur and in Taliesin's unprinted Plot of Knives, who was surnamed Cadarn, was the Briton most distinguished for his resistance to Hengist during the massacre at the banquet. The same person is termed by Cuhelyn, in his poem on that massacre, "Eideol ruler of the circumference" (i. e. the circle) and marchawg midlan or knight of the enclosure. There is every reason to conclude that the same Eidol is commemorated in the Gododin.

We shall find it as good as declared to us by Aneurin himself, that his work is of mysterious import; not of a plain sense and purpose, as our opponents think. Taliesin was intimate with him and says in his Gift to Urien,

One is their name, Aneurin renowned for verse,
And I, Taliesin, from the banks of the lake of Ceirionydd.

By "un eu enw" I understand him to mean "they shall be called one," their perfect unison shall be celebrated. Aneurin says nearly the same in his Gododin,

In my earthy house,
With an iron chain
Round the tops of my knees,
I Aneurin will compose
What is known to Taliesin,
A participation of mind.
Is it not the song of Gododin
Before the dawn[q] of the fine day?

The mental participation, cyvrenhin, of Bards is the mutual understanding between them, which made plain to them a jargon which others could not interpret. The same idea had previously occurred in the equivalent phrase cynrhan.

Caredig caradwy gynrhan,
Caredig the amiable participator. p. 5.

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[q] Composed, or sung, on May eve, before the dawn of May day.

He tells us, that the subject of his poem was known to Taliesin; and he farther intimates, that such his knowledge was a mark of the close participation between their minds and thoughts. Now if these were verses describing in plain terms, and under their true names, the circumstances of a battle fought at Corbridge or elsewhere, every one that read it could have understood its meaning, without having any peculiar cyvrenhiu with its author. He declares to us himself that his work is Bardic and not popular, not easy to be apprehended by the uninitiated.

The same passage gives rise to another serious remark. Aneurin (we are told) was present at a battle fought between Bernician Britons and the Saxons of Northumberland, at a place then called Cattraeth. Most of the Britons, being tipsy, were slain; and Aneurin was taken, and wrote in his prison this account of the disaster at Cattraeth. Few had escaped to tell the tale. It was peculiarly his province to tell it. And if there was one thing more than another, which Aneurin must have known, and which the bard of Arvon could not have known, but must have had to learn from his recital, it was the detail of this combat and of Aneurin's misfortune. But if he treated obscurely of that which long before had befallen the heathenish bards and sorcerers of Britain in the temple of their superstition, then indeed it was true, that he sang of matters as well known to Taliesin as to him.

The following short poem appears to me to be, in effect and purpose, a Gododin poem, and is therefore entitled to insertion, as illustrative of the matter in hand. It has no title.

Arch. Myvyr. 1. p. 180.

Rhan Rhen rhad gordden gwaith heinyw
Dilaith i bawb gwyniaith
A chadwyd cyvraith.
Cysgawd gwyn iaith cein yw.
Dyddwyn ac addwyn cedeirn ynghadwyn.
A gwedi cwyn cynniv
Cochwedd calanedd cyvyng vreon;
Cochwedd celanedd ev sengif a rhedaint
Amnoethaint yngwarthav nant.

Saith angerdd au.
Sengif dwvyn, dwvyn.
Gwaddyn, gwaddyn awallu.
Tri gair am tri phair tri theulu,
Tri M tri nis deupi meddygon.
Tair aer, aer am gaer o ganon,
Cad, cad cyvlud ar Saeson.
Gwall, gwall vu arvoll ar gynhon.
Graid greic gofelaig ddragon
O Eryri vraith vreon,
Eryri a orf i ban welych,
Dragon o nywant a llewych,
Graid yn bro, graid agro, gro yngwrych,
A'r ysgi asgen i asgellwrych
Llestri llu ar heli tuth eleirch.
Gwae wrth vor, nad gwrthdir a wrth rych.

By God's grace, the rapid work of fate
Is undestructive to every fair-spoken man
Who hath held to what is lawful.
Fair speech is a good protection.
Meek and honest are the brave in their chains.
When after the complaints comes the combat,
Red the kalends on the[r] hills of small compass;
Red the corpses which they trampled with their coursers,
Exposed naked, hard by the ravine.
There are seven ways of artifice.
They trampled deep, deep.
The foundation, the foundation fails.
Three words round the three cauldrons of the three tribes,
And 3003 shall not come[s] to the doctors.

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[r] Or *hill*, for breon seems to have the force of a singular when applied to the great sanctuary, as for instance in its title of din breon braint. So, the same is termed caerau as well as caer.

[s] The hurt they have received being immedicable.

15. Three fights, fights round the Caer of authority,
A battle, a battle of combustion to the Saxons.
'Twas error, error, to entertain them on an agreement.
A fire[t] of the crags was the imperious ruler
From Snowdon's variegated hills,
20. Snowdon whose bulk behold ye aloft,
A ruler strong of thrust and conspicuous,
A fire in the land, sad fire, the sea-beach bristling up,
And the dagger doing injury to the froth of
The liquor-pots of the host of swans speeding o'er the brine.
25. Woe to the sea, not to say, to the lands both wild and till'd!

That these verses are in allusion to the feast of Gwrtheyrn Gwynedd, and partly an attack upon him, will scarcely be controverted, so strongly apposite are the verses 7, 17, 23, and 24. But, when that is admitted, we may be challenged to shew that it is a Gododin poem. Though it does not contain the characteristic words, Mynyddawg, Gododin etc. it may I think be identified as such. What are the five first lines about? They relate, I conceive, to the same topic which is handled in Aneurin and G. Cynvelyn, and in Owen Cyveilioc's pleasing line

Dillwng garcharawr dullest volaid,

viz. the preservation of the captive bard by reason of his acceptable song and eloquence. The words llestri llu call to mind those of Aneurin and the Maelderw, tymestyl tramerin llestyr tramerin llu. But the strongest resemblance of language consists in calling the members of the Bardic synod *swans;*

And, before the swans were buried underneath,
(A chyn y olo o dan eleirch)
The mount was resolute in its demands. Aneurin, 265, 6.

In fact, there never was any such event as the supposed battle of Cattraeth. History has no mention of it, and geography will not furnish

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[t] Perhaps a volcanic flame; or perhaps rather a beacon fire, such as were lighted on high places to rouse the people to war.

us with its site. It is in the nature of an *overcad;* that is to say, it describes under a fictitious name, like those of Cam-lan, or the field of iniquity, and Goddeu, or the trees, a transaction which (however violent) differs from our vulgar use of the word *battle.* Cat-traeth is a made-up word, of no doubtful sense. It is "the strand of battle;" and Taliesin, in his Battle of Gwenystrad, used the word cattraeth, "the battle strand," without any reference to the matter of the Gododin, with which Urien Reged was totally unconnected.

> Arwyre gwyr cattraeth, gan dydd
> A'm wledig gwaithvuddig gwarthegydd.
>
> Warriors, arise to the battle-strand, at dawn of the day
> Of my lord, the giver of success, the merchant,

that is to say, on the morning of the day of Mercury. This combat was gained by Urien on Wednesday morning; that of Argoed took place "at the dawn of the day of Saturn." Arch. Myv. p. 52. Repeated expressions in this and other poems lay the scene of the Gododin on the strand or margin of the sea. Therefore it could not happen at any place then named Cattraeth, for the Cat-traeth owes its name to it. Lest any should think that some prior battle (two happening to be fought on one field) had given it that name, Aneurin resorted to a double expression, as he did with Mynyddawg and Mynyddawr. By using both forms, he intimates to the discerning reader that both are factitious. He used both Cattraeth and Galltraeth as synonymes, the former 18 times, and the latter four times. We call a place in Sussex *Battle* from a well-known event, but we cannot also call it *Combat* or *Fight.* And will any one believe, that a real place was named in the alternative, either cat-traeth, strand of battle, or gall-traeth, strand of prowess? How many besides Taliesin attained to the enjoyment of cyvrenhin with Aneurin's mind, I know not. But a bard of king Cadwallon (perhaps Avan Red-spear) follows Aneurin's example in using a double name, both Cat-traeth, and[u] Cat-treu; and moreover, I am much deceived if he does not, by his description of Cattraeth, identify it with the Stonehenge when visited

[u] Battle of passing over, or of passing through.

by the Saxons, which sanctuary he likewise immediately afterwards mentions by name. He says of Cadwallon, that

By his valour he hath made of none effect
[x] *The reproach of Cattraeth, greatly renowned*
For its foreigners, its stones, and its lordly feast.
Fickle his lot in life, but ample his endowments in war.
In fair Cattreu the knight[y] of hospitality
Unloaded a ship's load, in the sword-bearing enclosure.
Cadwallon *vindicated the Mount of Caer-Caradoc*
When he kindled the flames in Eboracum.

I consider the case thus laid before the reader to be clear and conclusive, if it were not for the objections that may be raised on other grounds. They must therefore be examined and disposed of.

Edw. Llwyd supposes the Gododin to have been composed about A. D. 510, more or less, and the plot of long knives did not occur later than 472; so that some 38 years would have intervened between the event and the composition. But, says Mr. Turner, Aneurin describes himself as a captive "*from* the host at Cattraeth," i. e. as a prisoner taken in that battle. Now in those lines Aneurin really says, that he will sing "*of* or *concerning* the host at Cattraeth" as it is well rendered both by Mr. Davies and the critic in the Cambro-Briton, 1. p. 93.

Gildas ap Caw wrote his Epistle in 543 or 544, being 72 years after the feast of Vortigern. Therefore the chances are much against his brother having been a vigorous adult (of whose early youth the poem hints nothing) when that event happened. But at the same time, I entirely disbelieve that Aneurin was present at, and escaped from, the bloody fray which he commemorates. If any one concludes that he was so, or meant to say that he was, because he said that he was, he knows little of the Bards. It was the fashion of those equivocators to identify themselves in their discourse with the deities and

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[x] Eiliwed Cattraeth vawr vygedawg
Allmyr, a maen, a gwin ionawg.

[y] The gwesti varchawg here is the same with the marchawg midlan, as Cuhelyn has it.

heroes of other times, according to certain analogies that were mutually understood by them in their cyvrenhin. Taliesin, the *participator* of the Gododin, luxuriates in that figure of speech. He is wont to identify himself with his Druidical predecessors, and to speak of his own existence in anterior times. He was present (he says) in a battle with Llew and Gwydion ap Don. He was in the battle between Matholwch and Bran father of Caractacus. He was in Britain when the Trojans came. Nay, he had been Aedd the father of Prydain. Mr. Davies truly says, he "blended his own personal character with that of the priests of the sun who had gone before him."

By a like fiction, Aneurin sets himself in the place of some great bard who had gone before him, had witnessed these horrors, and escaped from them, and survived to bewail them in song. In the Gododin he says,

Nor escaped there from burial by the valour of their sword-strokes
Any but three, the two war-dogs from Aeron, and Cenon,
And myself from my blood-spilling, as the reward of my fair eulogy.

So also in Gorchan Cynvelyn,

Except three none returned.
Cynon, and Chatraeth, and Chathleu, by the battle-thrust,
And me from shedding my blood they compassionated
Son of the omen-fire; my ransom they appointed
Of pure gold, and steel, and silver.

Three escaped, and one. The Gododin, which expressly states that of 363 only 3 returned, twice states as distinctly that only 1 out of 300 returned. The Bruts shew that, independently of the synod who were convened from various parts to meet Vortigern and Hengist, and of whom according to Alfred of Beverley 360 were slain, there was a permanent body of 300 Monks of Ambri (Aurelian-Ambrosian ministers) in the immediate neighbourhood of the Cor Emmrys. Roberts's Tysilio, p. 126. We may thence infer, that the 363 were one set of people, and the 300 another set, and not part of it. If so, three out of the national synod and one out of the resident Ambrosian college escaped from the disaster of Gododin. The bard Golyddan chimes in with Aneurin, by saying that four persons were saved at the Stonehenge,

Mawr watwar namyn pedwar nid atcorant,
From the great outrage there came not away save four.

The three out of the 363 made their escape forcibly by fighting their way out, by their fossawd (sword-stroke) and their catwant (battle-thrust), whereas the one out of the 300 was spared in consideration of his excellence as a musician and poet, and by an agreement for his ransom. The latter was "the son of the omen-fire," meaning (as I believe,) the person who presided over and tended the sacred fire of the Magi at the oracle of the British Mithras. That was the person with whom Aneurin (as Taliesin by participation well knew) thought fit to identify himself in verse. And if once we arrive at this point, that Aneurin was not present at the affair of Gododin and never meant those to whom his ænigmatical strains were intelligible to suppose that he had been, we have done with the topic of his chronology. I am quite equally doubtful of the fact of his having been a prisoner when he composed it. It was an anniversary poem prepared for the occasion of the yearly festivities, now embittered by dismal recollections; for

Is it not the song of Gododin
Before the dawn of the fine day?

But the person whom Aneurin represents was, no doubt, cast into prison when his life was spared and until his ransom was paid.

There is a corollary to this topic. We are given to suppose, that the life of Aneurin was spared in open battle by the founders of the kingdom of Northumberland, because he was a mellifluous bard and excelled in British song; by those sons of Odin ferocious even to madness, who fought to destroy, and did not understand the British tongue, but probably hated the sound of it. Illiterate and atrocious, theirs was not the humour which "bad spare

The house of Pindarus when temple and tower
Went to the ground."

It were a strange supposition, that the bloody pagan Angles, in the heat of a most obdurate conflict, should have saved the life of a noisy Celt because his poetry was good, they having slender means of knowing or motives for caring whether it was good or bad. But if the transaction occurred in the sanctuary of the Bards, under the eyes

of Vortigern, and not without suspicion of his connivance, it becomes credible and even fully probable that one of the three hundred ministers of the Cor should have been shielded from the knives of the Saxons, and for the very reason alleged, viz. that he was a master of his art and as such enjoyed high favour.

It may be adduced against us, that we make Cenau son of Llywarch Hên an agent in scenes, which occurred about 28 years before the time when Llywarch Hên himself is supposed to have been born. But there is no reason to suppose that Cenau ap Llywarch was the son of Llywarch Hên. That poet states that he had had 24 sons and furnishes us with the names of 22 of them, but those of the other two are unknown. It is true that the name of Cenau is inserted, *from Aneurin*, into some copies of the pretended pedigree of Llywarch Hên's family. But that pedigree is an ignorant and clumsy fiction. Besides introducing fabulous personages, the chimeras of mythology, it enumerates 20 of the 22 sons whom Llywarch deplores by name, in the same order in which he names them, supposing that it was the order of their birth and seniority; whereas it is the order in which the train of his ideas called them up to his memory, and far more nearly the order of their deaths than of their births. Some copies of this illiterate imposture insert Rhun, because he is named in the elegy, though named as an enemy. Others insert Gorwynion, being merely the title of one of Llywarch's poems, and Deigyr, because the noun deigyr occurs in st. 75. Talan, one of the two whom the pedigree omits, is named in the same line of st. 75; and the other, Heilyn, was not supposed to be a proper name, being in that respect ambiguous. Thus it appears, that if the enumeration in the Henaint has not been copied quite verbatim, it is only because they had not sense to understand it and heaped blunder upon blunder. By these barbarous absurdities it is made manifest, that no record remains of the family of Llywarch Hên except in his own mournful verses. And as no reason exists for supposing that he was the father of this Cenau, so there are strong reasons to the contrary. The two of his 24 sons whom he omits to name, and who are not honoured with his regrets, had probably not sustained the honour of their house. But this

Cenau would have richly merited his notice, crowned as he was with Aneurin's wreaths.

An objection has been raised, that the poem contains no such complaints and invectives against Saxon treachery as might be expected. According to the vulgar notion, the objection is plausible. But this work has anticipated it. The Ambrosians had little complaint to make of Saxon treachery upon that occasion. That the Gododinians were themselves complained of as the criminal, though demure and secret, aggressors, we have seen from the express assertion of Owen of Cyveilioc, and from the words of Aneurin himself. Whatever the Ambrosians may have published at the time and afterwards, in order to rouse the Britons to vengeance, Aneurin could never intend to address his friend and brother bard in the language of vulgar artifice and deception, at the very moment when their minds were in participation. If they were to hoax one another, as they did the public, where was the use of cyvrenhin? They had but one topic of real complaint, viz. indiscretion and mismanagement. The fraternity, being unable to curb their intemperance, became intoxicated, and so fell easier victims to those whom they had marked out for their own victims. I believe that the Gododin plot was after this fashion. The British synod were to be hospitable and jovial, but carefully to confine themselves within the bounds of sobriety, while they plied the intemperate warriors of Saxony with a profusion of liquor; and, when they were sunk in the last stages of debauch, to surround and destroy them with flames, of which the materials were suitably disposed among the recesses of their sanctuary and the buildings connected with it. Hengist, to whom "the hidden dragons of Lludd ap Beli" were revealed, gave secret arms and a caution of sobriety to his people, whose minds had constancy of purpose and could observe the caution, while the brawling Celts got drunk over their unfinished plot, and kindled the murderous flames in the despair of detected villany while the Saxons were doing execution on them. That want of prudence and temperance, being in reality a cause of their destruction, was accordingly the topic of Aneurin's reproaches. Ce fut pire qu' un crime, (as said a modern man of blood to another) ce fut une faute.

The notion of the Otadeni fighting against the Angles at Cattraeth

has scarcely any foundation, besides the trivial resemblance of their name to Gododin. But it derives some colour from the mention of Deirans and Bernicians as opponents of Caeawg, and from some bitter words directed against the Bernicians. But these passages will not prove that the scene of the Gododin lay in Northumberland. The former of them applauds Caeawg for his conduct on a previous occasion, when he had been sent by "the son of the adversary" i. e. by the son in law of Hengist, upon an expedition to Gwynedd and North Britain, in which he defeated certain Deirans and Bernicians and slew 2000 of them. And as regards the other, we must consider that the vernal jubilee was not a local one, made up of the inhabitants of Severia or Wiltshire, but of all the principal persons in the island, and many from Ireland, with their respective followings. Besides Gwynethians or North-Welsh, some of Vortigern's strongest partisans were in the north of the island, and Taliesin describes his party as composed

Of the violent bloody men
Cymmry, Angles, Irish, and North-British.

It is evident, that we can no more infer that Gododin was north of Humber, because Bernicians are spoken of as enemies, than we can infer that it was south of Humber because certain of the Lloegrians are spoken of in the like manner. There are most cogent reasons for believing our case, subject to certain objections which it is my endeavour to remove, but the affirmative reasons in support of the opposite case re next to none. Its whole strength consists in taking exceptions to ours.

The most obvious difficulty is, that the Gododin several times reminds its reader that the scene of its actions is upon the strand or margin of the sea. As much is implied in the compound word Cat-traeth. The answer is, that this is not said in earnest or in a literal acceptation. In saying this, "Aneurin composed what was known to Taliesin, a participation of mind." The Cat-traeth or strand of battle was also termed the strand of Ufin or rather Uffin. Aneurin has these lines,

Rather would I have forsworn myself on my sword
Than that the outcry and the slaughter of Ufin should have been.
Godod. p. 12.

There are verses in the "Song of Strong Beer" which will help us to decide whether this was a literal sea-shore or not.

Not unlaughable are Ynyr's
Enemies, being his hostages.
The central place of the bards
Is the superb star of stars.
Have I not unveil'd the mystery
Of the sea-strand of Uffin
In the seas of Gododin?
Motley-worded is the *participation* (cyvrenhin)
Of the raven, the diviner of the morning.

Arch. 1. p. 40.

Certainly he has unveiled the mystery of Gododin not a little. A battle strand, on which a certain Mynyddawg might happen to encounter the Angles, could not be of star-like magnificence. Neither, methinks, could it be the central meeting-place to which the Bards of Britain resorted periodically, "pan aeth canwyr i Cattraeth." But we know in what place, and in one how vastly magnificent, they yearly held their feast of the cyntevin. The strand of Uffin and the seas of Gododin were neither strand nor sea. For if they really were so, it could be no motley-worded cyvrenhin to call them so.

The caerau, entrenched megalithic circles of the Apollinares Mystici, were esteemed of as islands floating on the deluge, and containing the sanctuary, which was esteemed of as the ark, while the open plains in which they were erected offered an image of the sea without shores. In bardic hypothesis, the caerau were so close upon the sea-strand, as to lie

"Betwixt ebb and flow."

See part 2. pp. where[z] this part of the subject is illustrated. The strand of Uffin in the seas of Gododin was the slope of the hill (called Mount of Caer-Caradoc) on which the Cor Gawr stood in the vast expanse of the Maes Mawr.

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[z] However unusual it may be, it appeared less inconvenient thus to refer to pages as yet unpublished, than to postpone this essay upon Gododin.

Gododin[a] is a bardic word of uncertain import. The only phrase that seems to resemble it is the epithet anciently superadded to the name of the isle of Man. Cynedda Wledig (saith the Cottonian appx. to Nennius) came into N. Wales from Manau *Guotadin* which lay to the north of it. p. 116. Gale. Tepipawn (says an older MS.) eldest son of Cynedda visited Wales in company with his father and brothers, but he died in the land of Manau *Guodotin*. MS. Harl. 3859 in Camb. Qu. Mag. 4. p. 23. Godo is a partial or incomplete covering, while din and dinas mean a camp, fort, station, town, consecrated temple, or other enclosure. Godo also occurs in the Triads as the proper name of the father of one Fleidwr Flam, a fabulous person, said to have been a sovereign prince at the court of Arthur. Tr. 15. ser. 1. Tr. 26. p. 13. Din, like caer, has, besides its general meaning, a particular application to Neo-Druidic sanctuaries; as in the case of the Dinas Faraon or Dinas Emmrys, the enclosure of the Spirits or of Ambrosius. And, if to the Dinas Emmrys, why not to the Cor Emmrys? The term godo, incomplete covering, is certainly very appropriate to an area, not only hypæthric, but surrounded by uncontiguous masses of stone, and to one actually termed by Taliesin govur byd, the incomplete wall of the world. We must take along with us, that the idiom of the prefix *go* is a purely descriptive one, and by no means imputing a blameable defectiveness; for, if a ruined house that lets in the rain be godo, so is a delightful arbour whose lattice-work is formed to admit the zephyr.

If Guodotin be really the same title as Gododin (which seems likely) we shall find the latter by no means inapplicable to the isle of Manau. It was an asylum to British princes and priests during the Roman coercion, upon the relaxation of which Cynedda's family returned from thence. Finnan 10th king of Scots (says Hector Boece) organized a college of priests, called in old Scottish the Ducergliis, to do sacrifice, interpret religion, educate youth, compose laws, pronounce judgments, and excommunicate the refractory. They had a chief-priest

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[a] The Mabinogi cited Owen Dict. *Gwallaw* might, if published, perhaps illustrate the subject.

before whom the fire of dignity and the ensign of honour were carried. He gave them Man for their chief residence, and in that island they had an annual meeting of their whole number. Hist. Scot. fol. 22. This tradition of Guotadin or Guodotin nicely agrees with Taliesin's Gododin, and we may apply to it his own words of cyvrenhin,

Ev cyrch cerddorion	The central place of the bards
. . . . .	. . . . .
Ymmoroedd Gododin.	In the seas of Gododin.

Mananan *Mac-Llyr* (Son[b] of the Sea) was king of Man, and he regulated the weather by aid of the Moon and of Bad god of the winds. He surrounded Man with such a wall of mist and darkness that navigators could not find it, until St. Patrick sailed through the fogs and dissipated them. Vallancey Coll. 4. p. 509. Thus the meaning of the word Godo, viz. a considerable degree of covering, was applicable to Man.

The Gododin thrice mentions Eidin or Eidyn, and two Triads term Mynyddawg, M. of Eiddin or Eiddyn. Tr. 36. s. 1. 79. s. 3. A resemblance of sound has led some people to think that Edinburgh or Dun-Edin is the same place. Among these may perhaps be included the compiler of the Bonedd y Saint, who speaks of Dinas Eiddin *in he North*, (p. 28. 34. 42. 55.) and seems to[c] mean Edinburgh. But it is not believed by the Scotch that Edinburgh was in existence thus early. Neither do I see any probability in the supposition. If Gododin were in the territory of the Otadeni, it must have been that place which bore the name of that nation, viz. the Curia Otadenorum. Curia is supposed by the best authority to have been Corbridge upon Tyne. Will any one believe, that the obscure and scarcely known tribe of Otadeni possessed a territory extending from the Tyne to the Firth of Forth if not farther? And that their ruler had his residence

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[b] And equivalent to Bran ap Llyr, the guardian deity of Britain; while his fraternity of Ducergliis were meib Llyr, sons of Llyr, as the fraternity of the Bards of Emmrys styled themselves.

[c] But some of the copies have it Dinas Edwin.

at Edinburgh while their capital town was Corbridge? Eiddin is the same place as Gododin. The passages of Aneurin are as follows,

Never was there such a collision
From (or *of* or *concerning*) the rampart of Eidin. p. 3.

He was a savage bull
In the court of Eidyn. ibid.
Three hundred knights of battle
Ennobled with the gold of Eidyn. p. 4.

Gorchan Cynvelyn, one of the minor Gododins, has words to this effect,

Let the bewailing hero bewail,
Let Caer Eidyn bright with blue[d] marble
Shudder with him.

Gorchan Maelderw, another of them, uses these expressions,

Upon the sea there is no contrivance,
No assembling for business, no consultation,
The circled-front is the outskirts of life.
Not one day more shall the barrier,
Eidin's barrier, present an ungory front,

of which the following is the sense and import. "Upon the great "plains which surround the circular brow of the Cor no secret and "mysterious business can be transacted, beyond the precincts of the "Cor we cannot carry on our plots with safety to our lives. But "even those sacred precincts are about to be violated and made a "scene of slaughter." The carnage at the barrier of Eidin upon the sea is that of the sea-strand of Uffin. Taliesin says in his Angar Cyvyndawd,

I have been a speckled cock
Upon a hen in Eidin. Arch. p. 37.

In writers of this character a plain meaning is not always, as elsewhere, the probable meaning. The words of the Angar C. scarcely admit of

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[d] The great altar at the Stonehenge is a slab of blue marble.

one. It was in bardic sanctuaries, and not at Edinburgh, that Taliesin practised his extravagancies.

Upon the whole, I can entertain no doubt whatever as to the rectitude of Mr. E. Davies's general conclusions. Though, at the same time, so few of his translations or of his arguments appear to be admissible, that it cannot be wondered if he made few converts.

DIGRESSION UPON CAER CONAN.

[FROM P. 75.]

IT is perfectly true that no objection can be made to Duke Hengist's meeting his end at Conisborow near Doncaster; inasmuch as he was one of his son in law's most active and able generals, and was concerned in a war which extended itself from Kent to Snowdon, and spread its fury throughout the island.

At the same time, if we consider the awful and mysterious nature, locality, and circumstances of the transaction, almost unparalleled in history, by which Hengist became the prime object of British vengeance; if we consider after what sort his death was, a Mithriac immolation, the highest in genere, and the highest and grandest possible in specie, and that it was solemnized by the guardian and superintendant of the Stonehenge sanctuary with his own hands; and if we consider, how paramount that place (where the Aurelius Ambrosius protected the graves of his slaughtered ministers) was in the estimation of the Apollinares Mystici, even long after they had lost the possession of it; it is difficult to repress the rising doubt, whether the Caer Cynan, fatal to Hengist, were not itself that Caer of almost innumerable names. To deal with the subjects that we have in hand requires much doubting, careful sifting, and groping in the dark. The reader may take disgust, and be inclined to see in the painful effort to penetrate a deceptive jargon and unravel a knot of chicanery, nothing but quodlibets of one's own imagining. In that fear, I have banished these remarks from both text and notes, into the digressions.

As Caer *Caradoc* means (by equivalency of terms) the Caer of Melyn *mab Cynvelyn*, so Caer Cynan may be the same Caer. Cynan has been a very usual name of men among the Britons of various ages. Besides Caer Cynan in Yorkshire, there was a Caer Cynan upon Mount Pencair in Cornwall. Leland Itin. 3. p. 5. But this latter Cynan was a purely fabulous and mythological character, father to

Trystan, and consequently the same personage as Tallwch or the Expansion. Cynan is a noun common as well as a proper name, meaning articulate voice, any thing uttered or spoken, of which an instance happens to have been cited above, p. 191; and it was applied to their own poetic and prophetic awen, and to the oracles of their deities, by the bards. In that sense they would sometimes play upon the double use of the word, as expressing both a man's name and a thing. For instance, Cynan lord of Meriadawg stood, in the Ambrosian prophecies, for a type of the Armorican kingdom which was to be re-united to Cymmru and Albany. But when the chief-bard spoke of the whole congregation of bards seeking refuge with Cynan in the day of national judgment, (see above, p. 1.) he did not mean to say that, at the time of re-union of the British empire, the Armoricans should exercise a peculiar jurisdiction over bardism, in preference to Cymmru and Albany, but that the power presiding over their cynan or gift of speech should do so. When they used a plain phrase in a purview not plain but mystical, they sometimes subjoined a sort of indication that it was so used. In this passage Cynan is termed "son of Bran" or "son of the raven," because the enchanter Bran, i. e. the raven, especially presided over their mystical discourse,

Gairvrith cyvrenhin
Bran bore dewin. (See above, p. 210, l. 11.)

But Caradoc was also (in mystical language) "son of Bran," which assimilates Caer Cynan to Caer Caradoc.

It follows that the Caer of Cynan, not that of Cynan Meriadawg or of Cynan Tindaethwy or of any other man, but the Caer of Cynan, i. e. the articulate voice, may be nothing else than Hen-Velen's Ebyr or *place of uttering effata*. Its Cynan will then be the Cynan ap Bran who sits in judgment on the discourse of bards, and, according to my notion of that name, (p. 44, 5,) the *Gwrthevyr* Vendigaid who kindled up the rebellion against Gwrtheyrn. And such, probably, was the allegorical Cynan Tallwch (voice of expansion), whose son Trystan married the white-maned mare Essyllt, daughter of the Horse, who was son of the Horses, and could transform all things into gold.

So much as to Caer Cynan. Hengist's death upon the mount or high-place of Caer Cynan was preceded by his defeat at the battle of the Maes Beli. The plain of Beli, being an unknown place, may be near Doncaster or any where else. But that same Beli, from whom the bards professed to derive their appellation of Beirdd Beli, (being perhaps a person to be identified with Gwrthevyr, see above, p. 156.) is said to occupy the tomb upon Salisbury Plain,

Piau bedd yn y *Maes Mawr?*
Bedd Beli ap Benlli Gawr.

Hence arises a striking probability, that the plain of Beli, on which Emmrys prevailed over Hengist, means that plain upon which the Cor Emmrys stands. In such case, I should understand the battle of Maes Beli to be no less than an *overcad*, denoting that whole system or continuance of hostilities which, beginning with the tumultuary combats of the Britons against Hengist upon the Maes Beli after the convivial massacre, ended with his capture and death.

These suggestions show us, that it is not unlikely, that Hengist may have been taken prisoner, at some place unknown, but quite remote from Conisborow Castle, and sacrificed with great solemnity at the national sanctuary of the Stonehenge, by the hands of the ruler of its circumference and knight of its enclosure.

Camden informs us that the best and oldest authority is in favour of styling this place Stan-Hengest, Stones of Hengist, in Saxon, and not Stan-henge, hanging stones. The improbability of the Saxons naming the place in commemoration of a business, which had heaped obloquy on their nation, has caused conjecture in this instance to prevail over authority. But it appears likely, that it was called the Stan-Hengest for a very different reason.

DIGRESSION UPON BRITISH COINAGE.

[FROM THE CONCLUSION.]

THE light which coins and medals cast upon history is wanting to the history of Britain, as such; however it may illustrate the acts of a Carausius and a Maximus. The precious metals may not only be coveted and valued as articles of luxury, but employed for their value in exchange, without being minted into money. The Arimaspians of ancient Scythia and the Avars of Pannonia and Austria were famous for their treasures of gold, although it would puzzle a medallist to produce in gold the head of the Arimasp or the Chagan. The Celts delighted in gold as an ornament and preserved it as a treasure, and were covetous of every description of wealth. But they had no coinage. When Julius Cæsar[e] visited Britannia, the people used "brass in small quantities, or plates of iron of ascertained weight, instead of money," utuntur ære minimo aut laminis ferreis pro nummo. The Irish word cearb, a rag, tatter, or strip, used rarely for money, may perhaps indicate the appearance of the ancient lamina. The Gauls had no coin. If they had used it, their country would be sprinkled over with samples of their coinage, as all other countries are with remains of their ancient money. Wherever society and property are insecure, money is buried or concealed in various ways; and what is hidden with care is from time to time revealed by chance. Society was precarious among the Grecian republics and under the Roman emperors, and consequently their coinage is frequently dug up. The dangers of life and property attained their ne plus ultra among the Celtic clans and their chieftains, and consequently more of their coin in proportion, than of the Greek and Roman, would be found in deposit, if they had employed that medium of exchange. If their

[e] Cæsar B. G. 5. 12.

circulation was of smaller amount, still their motives for hoarding it were more urgent. The gold and silver in the sacred treasury[f] of Thoulouse consisted of unwrought ingots, without any stamp or device. Sir R. Meyrick[g] seems to cite Diodorus, *L.* 5. c. 27, as attesting the use of gold coin by the Gauls; but that chapter does not make any allusion to coin. It enumerates the various uses they made of gold, and is itself a strong evidence that money was not one of them. I can find no authority but Valerius Maximus,[h] who says that the Gauls lent money (pecunias) to their dead, to be repaid by them in a subsequent state of existence; and adds, dicerem stultos, nisi idem braccati sensissent, quod palliatus Pythagoras credidit. But where does he say this custom prevailed? *Just outside the walls of Marseilles.* It was Greek money, and a piece of Pythagorean mummery. No doubt the coins of Marseilles and its colonies were freely taken in exchange, and used as money, by the neighbouring Narbonensian Gauls. But the Gauls had no more to do with the Massylian mint, than the Moxos or Chiquitos have with that of Potosi. The word Ceiniawg, pence, or more literally *shiners*, is a Cambro-British word, probably first applied to coinage and not to the brazen and iron laminæ of the natives; from which Sir R. Meyrick infers that, at the arrival of the Romans, the British were in the use of coined money, but carefully concealed the fact from Cæsar. Mandubratius and the Britons who were of his party, Commius of Artois, and the Gaulish merchants who traded with[i] Britannia, were equally united (as we must presume) to deceive him on that subject; whilst all the ceiniawg in circulation throughout Britannia were, by an easy operation of finance, called in, and hidden in some sly place where neither he nor subsequent antiquaries could find them! It is a Celtic axiom, that Cæsar and the learned Romans who succeeded him were blind and deaf. Sir R. Meyrick's inference is drawn from the *assumption*, that coin was called ceiniawg at an earlier period than the reign of Claudius Cæsar or commencement of the empire of the Romans in Britain; whereas nobody can tell when the word was introduced. Would it not be simpler to

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[f] Strabo, 4. p. 260.

[g] On Ancient Money in Camb. Qu. Mag. 5. 248.

[h] Val. Max. 2. c. 6. s. 10.

[i] Cæsar, iv. c. 20.

assume the whole matter at once, than to assume the premises for the sake of a questionable inference?

It is true, that medals of Cynobeline and others have been produced by antiquaries as ancient Celto-British coinage. But their real tendency is to prove that coinage was an art borrowed from the Romans and introduced by them. For they bear Latin legends, and the names of princes connected with or opposed to the Roman emperors. Unluckily, one of them is said to bear the legend *in Latin characters* of Cassivellaunus, the British chief who was made king on the sudden upon Cæsar's second landing, and in whose time we know that no alphabet but *the Greek* was used for any purposes of state. Others have the names of Cynobeline, Caractacus,[j] Arviragus, Boadicea, etc. Names, all of them extracted from Roman history, by men who (pretend what they would) had no other knowledge of their country's antiquities than what Roman authors afforded; and, most of them, names of those chiefs who had most fiercely resisted the Roman power. They are works of no earlier date than the apostasy and anarchy after the Romans. Moreover they were not money. They were Bardic works belonging to that numerous family of Gnostic, Mithriac, or Masonic medals, of which the illustration[k] has been learnedly handled in Chifflet's *Abraxas Proteus*, Von Hammer's *Baphometus*, the Rev. R. Walsh's *Essay on Ancient Coins*, and (as applicable to these very productions) the Rev. E. Davies's *Essay on British Coins*. The coins engraved by Dom B. de Montfaucon as remnants of ancient Gaulish[l] money are productions of similar appearance and the same class. Paracelsus alludes to them, as money coined by the gnomes and distributed by them among men. Their uses have never been known. But I explain them thus. Money is a ticket entitling the bearer to goods of a given value. But Fraternists or United Illuminates have a claim upon the assistance and liberality of each other, their goods are in that sense common, and those, who refused to make them such, used to be pronounced accursed brethren like Ananias

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[j] Davies on Coins, Myth. p. 590.

[k] Compare Bartholinus cit. Gibson's Camd. Brit. 2. 159.

[l] Montf. Aut. 3. p. 88. fig. ibid.

and Sapphira. Masonic medals were tickets entitling one initiate to receive assistance from another. It may be objected, that there was no great difficulty of stealing or forging them. True. But, to be a beneficial holder of these baubles, it was necessary that you should be able to explain the meaning of all the devices upon them. According to the sort of explanation given by the party, it would appear whether he was an authorized holder; and, if such, what rank of initiation he had attained, and consequently to what degree of favour and confidence he was entitled. The names selected to adorn these British medals are unequivocally marked with hatred for the Romans, and love for the memory of those Britons who warred against them; and they imply an exhortation and a compact to expel and exclude the Roman nation from the island. But I make no doubt that the prevalence of king Cynvelyn's name is due to the Apollinar Mysticism. This name *Cynvelyn* was a title conferred upon a king of Britain, perhaps distinguished by his yellow hair, and opposed to Caligula, who obtained a nominal cession of the island from his revolted son Adminius. But Cynvelyn, emphatically, was Pendragon and Æthereal Jove, the father of Apollo Belenus;

> "Seven fires of the essential-fire[m]
> Are seven opposing battles,
> The seventh is Cynvelyn
> For every front station."

At the same time, I can yield no credit to Mr. Davies's conjecture, that any thing so mean and common as an abrax-coin of Cynobeline, was the awful Gwarchan Cynvelyn of the bards. The sacred fire of Cynvelyn, the seventh and most excellent of the seven fires of the universe, and preserved in Britain like that of Oromazdes in Persia, was his Gwarchan or Talisman.

The language employed, the names selected, the superstition displayed, all tend to fix the mystic medals upon the Beirdd Beli. The farther inference results, that Britannia, after the Romans, did not set up an independent and national mint. We see that the art

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m Merddin in Arch. 1. p. 49.

existed; but yet we find that it was not exercised by the rulers of the state. No coins of Owain Finddu, Gwrtheyrn, Constantine, Maelgwn, or any other Neo-British kings are to be found; while it is proved, by the opening of sepulchral barrows, that Roman money circulated in the island after the times of Avitus and Anthemius, and even to those of Justinian, and bearing their images and legends. Ireland seems to have been equally barren of numismatic art and document; for Sir James Ware can cite no earlier coin of that country, than one which appears to be inscribed with the date of A. D. 1115. Antiquitates Hibern. p. 130.

THE END.

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SUPPLEMENTARY PAGES

OF

BRITANNIA AFTER THE ROMANS,

ETC.

CONTAINING SEVERAL

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

OWEN'S DICTIONARY. pp. xli. 181. Those who may be desirous to consider the merits of this work, with a view to the objects of sound lexicography, can further compare together the following glosses contained in its *second edition*, viz: Anghyffred and Gwaredred, Andrasdyl and Gogan, Cyfarch and Rhylead, Dabre and Gorisgellu, Dihenydd and Dyhenydd, Fur and Rhyth, Gosod and Mynw, Gwofrwy and Rhewintor, Rhyniaw and Tyrfu, Trwydded and Twng.

PICT-LAND. p. 98. lines 4, 5. I do not know by what means these words "in Pictland" came to be inserted, but it was improperly and without reflection, and a pen should be drawn across them.

DANIEL DREMRUDD. p. 133. Daniel's reign from 689 to 730 occupies the 31 years following the death of Alanus Longus; of which, however, 690 is the true date. It is an important fact, illustrative and strongly confirmative of the nature of the mythical or goblin dynasty as herein-above explained, that those 31 years formed part of the long anarchy which prevailed in Britanny from the death of Alawn to the reign of Charlemagne, or rather till the accession of Nomenoe. There was an interregnum, says Albert Le-Grand of 161 years, from 690 to 851. The last 37 years of it are marked by the unsuccessful endeavours of three chieftains Jarnithin, Morvran, and Gwyomarch, to establish their authority; but of the former part nothing at all authentic is to be learnt. After Alanus, says Argentrè, reigned Daniel Dremrudd, but his origin and history are so enveloped in absurd fable that nothing apparent or true can be said of him. L. 2. c. 35. But this may be said truly, that no monarch at all then ruled. Apres la mort d'Alain qui arriva l'an 690 (says one of their best historians) la Bretagne fut partageè entre sept souverains, sous le nom de comtes. . . . La Bretagne fut alors le theatre de toutes les horreurs; les meurtres, les assassinats, la guerre, tous les crimes desolerent dans ces temps malheureux ce petit coin de l'univers. Ogeè Abr. Hist. Bret. lxxix. We have seen that the name Dremrudd is a title of Mithras or Belenus; nor is it an opinion but a palpable fact, that Daniel's fable and Arthur's fable are the same, and that both those fables are Attila's history told with no little accuracy

of circumstance. History knows not the name of Arthur, nor that of Daniel. But history does explicitly avouch that Daniel's great name and incredible atchievements fill a vacant space, an interregnum; and the mythological passage in Armorican annals is cleared up by the authentic records of that country and of France. The mythology, so nearly identical, of Arthur is thereby accounted for likewise (as I have accounted for it in c. iv. p. 18.) by resolving it into a fanatical theocracy. In it, Caradoc Vreichbras and his son Cawrdav, Cornishmen, had the chief ascendancy; and the discontents of Iddawg son of Cawrdav contributed to put an end both to the fanatical system, and to the Cornish ascendancy which did not long survive it.

The darkest period of the Armorican interregnum has been peopled with some obscure names of kings who did not exist in that age. The Chartulary of Quimper gives this series.

1. Daniel Dremrudd; who was king of Germany.

2. Budig and Maxenti; the first of whom returned from Germany, and having slain Marcellus, recovered his paternal government.

3. Jahan Rheith.

4. Daniel Unna.

5. Grallon Flam.

All this is sheer fable; but Daniel Unna signifies *Daniel the Hunn*, and instead of being a different king from Daniel Dremrudd is merely the explanation, in one word, of his story. See Lobineau Hist. Bret. 2. p. 18. Dom Morice remarks that in the catalogue of the Counts of Cornouailles Daniel Red-Face is said to have reigned, not in the eighth century, but "about A. D. 445 and 450;" from which, and from his having a son Budig, he infers that he was Audran king of Britanny and father of Budig Cybsdan. This is well enough, and accounts for Budig; but he failed to observe that those five years are the years of Attila's greatness. Dom Morice 1. 663. The legend of St Efflam is, at bottom, the same thing. Ef-flam (i. e. ipse-ignis or ipsa-flamma) was an Irish king who had a long war with a British king, which ended in an agreement that he should have in marriage *Honora* the hostile king's daughter. But, when Honora was brought to him, he resolved upon virginity, and went away from her into Britanny. There he met with Arthur "who had been crowned king of Britain in 450." (Observe, that the Armoricans seem almost always to take the Romance or Attilane date of Arthur, and not the Brudic date or that of the Arthurian regimen in this island.) The latter was busy chasing dragons and other monsters. When Efflam came up

with him, Arthur had been combating a dragon without success during a whole day, and was exhausted with thirst. Like another Moses, Efflam produced a fountain to refresh him, out of the place now called Toul Efflam (the perforation of E.) and he destroyed by his prayers the dragon which Arthur could not kill. Honora followed him and after many adventures overtook him, and became a saint like him. Here is the correct date of Attila's war, viz: about 450. Here is Honoria conquered by Attila from her family in that war, but never admitted to his royal couch: Honoria pursuing with all possible energy, and courting, the embraces of a king who desired not her person. Here is one, with a magian or mithriacal title, sharing Arthur's labours, refreshing his strength, and gaining for him his victories: the moral of which is that the Arthur of A. D. 450, whom Honoria courted and who fought for Honoria, was only a weak mortal, as touching his manhood, and but for the ipsa flamma incarnate in his person. See Albert Le-Grand. p. 569—71. In Arthur's court was a monarch who had renounced his territory and dominions to abide with him, and his name was Bleidwr Flam, Flame the Wolf-man. (Incorrectly printed Fleidwr, in page 211.) Triad 114. This is king Ef-flam uncanonized. Another like legend of the Attilane Arthur coupled with that of Honoria is worthy of brief mention. Arthur (says the Samson Saga) reigned in England and he married Sylvia daughter of *the king of Hungary*. (Attila united in marriage, as he in fact was, to one at least of his own daughters.) They had a son by name Samson the Beautiful, and a daughter *Grega*. (This is only the softened name of *Creca*, the favourite wife of Attila.) Soon after, Arthur waged a successful war against the king of Ireland, and at the treaty of peace between them he took from him his daughter Valentina as a hostage. She was betrothed to Samson, and set at liberty: and the subsequent quest of her gave rise to the wondrous adventures of the Samson Saga. *Valentina* is Honoria, so styled as the sister of Valentinian from whom she was claimed by the Hun.

The ascertained character of the Dremruddian regimen in Armorica is such a potent confirmation of my doctrine concerning the Arthurian, Uthyrian, and Ambrosian regimens, that I much regret having omitted to dwell upon it in its proper place.

The silence of Gildas is so fatal to the assertors of Arthur, as to render the story of his suppressing Arthur's name, in revenge for his brother Hoel's death, most important to them. I could only pass it over with the levity such a tale deserved. Above, p. 94. But I have since fathomed it. Caunus, Latin for Caw, became confounded with Conanus, Latin for Cynan, and the

lord of Cwm Cawlwyd and father of Gildas, with the founder of Britanny and father of Hoel. For evidence of these facts, see Dom Morice Hist. Bret. i. p. 13. So Gildas ap Caw became of course (and with no more anachronism then was involved in the confusion of Caw with Cynan) the brother of Hoel ap Cynan Meriadawg. Arthur himself is not a vainer phantom than this Hoel ap Caw, whose fable is called in to his assistance.

The reader has seen in p. 147, 8, my suspicion that the reign, palpably fabulous and void of termination, which is introduced after Maelgwn's, was introduced to cloak a relapse of the nation into such machinations as the names of king Ambrose and king Arthur had previously cloaked. What I then had suspicion of I now find was true. The prophet Merlin in Cyvoesi st. 17 and 19 (90 and 92 of the interpolated poem) gives the name of Maelgwn, and when asked who should next reign,[a] answers, Beli Hir and his warriors, and when farther asked who next, again replies, Beli Hir and his warriors. That is much, by itself. But I farther observe it stated in Triad 73 that "three bulls were monarchs of the isle of Britain," tri tharw unbenn Ynys Prydain, and these three were bards, and the most desperate of all warriors. Bulls! what manner of bulls? Why, "the roaring bulls of Beli," ministers of the Trin Tarw, Bull of Battle. And that is just what Merlin said; "Beli and his warriors," or Beli and his bulls. But they were also bards; warriors of Beli, bulls of Beli, and *beirdd Beli*. They were Elmur, Cynhaval, and Avaon ap Taliesin. The latter, being son to the Pen-beirdd who contended against Maelgwn and loaded him with maledictions, brings the date of these affairs into that æra which we speak of. They are not called by the style of teyrn, brenin, or any other of limited sense, but by the unequivocal and supreme title of unben Prydain. Here, then, we have the insular monarchy, the unbennaeth Prydain, presented to us in the Chronicles as wielded by a real king with a romance invented for his reign; while we find from other sources that there was during that time no king insular, unless the bardic bulls of Beli, as they successively obtained the horrible high-priesthood, could be so considered. Here, we find acknowledgment of what has never been acknowledged as to St. Gwrthevyr, Ambrose, Pendragon, and Arthur; and we learn that the romantic reigns, interpolating history, followed and preceded by historical princes, de-

[a] The Gogledd or parts between the Mersey and Clyde are more especially alluded to in these prophecies; but they shew generally which influence supplanted that of Maelgwyn's family in the island.

scribe so many periods of civil anarchy and theocratic or hierarchic bardism. And in so learning, we are furnished with the name of a known man and extant poet.

CADVAN. CADWALLON. p. 150. etc. Cadwallon is stated to have reigned 48 years, and I am now unable to say why I have set it down 42 years. But if it was done so in my carelessness, good fortune directed it to the truth. For Cadvan did indeed die in 634, fractions excepted. Cadwallon his son became insular king in 635 according to Warrington (1. p. 136; Rowlands cit. ibid.) and in 633 according to Owen, (Llywarch p. 111 note *a*) which gives a medium of 634.

But, in looking back to this point, a curious discovery has occurred. It is no less than this, that the renowned and dreaded Cadwallon is none other than Cadvan ap Iago himself. The accession of Cadvan is one of our few fixt and certain dates. It was in 607. His son's accession in 635 and 633 for 634 points out the epoch of his death. Therefore Cadvan reigned insularly from 607 to 634. But 634 (or 633) is the known historical year in which Beda's infandus Britonum dux Cedwalla fell at Denisburn. The vulgar æra of Cadwallon ail Cadvan's death is really that of his father's death and his own accession. His own death was in 676 or 677; unless the computations of all British historians are such glaring absurdities as we must hesitate to pronounce them. It is therefore certain that Cadvan ap Iago fell at Denisburn, as in 634; and that he, not his son, was the first Cedwalla of the Saxons and Anglo-Normans. That Cadwallon died of old age and sickness in 676, having reigned *forty-two* years, seems to be true; though all direct traces of his death fail us.

That nothing of moment or brilliancy occurred in British war, after the battle of Denisburn, is certain enough. And we consequently become aware, that the Cadwallawn whom Llywarch deplores as the hero of fourteen battles and sixty combats was Iago's son. Therefore if Llywarch was born in 500 his longevity would not be extended much beyond 134 years. The statement in the Triads that Cadwallon was intimate with Avaon ap Taliesin would be almost absurd, if taken of Cadvan's son.

The omission of any detailed mention of Cadvan's acts, and any account whatever of the duration and close of his reign, is evidently intended by the chronicles to cloak the fictions by which his acts are transferred to his son. Since he was an overvardd or irregular bard he was entitled to a bardic agnomen. But it may be doubted which was his real name.

Cadwallon son of Cadvan with his fabulous legend disappears from authentic records. That he lived, married a Saxon princess, and was the father of Cadwallader, must be admitted. More cannot safely be said of him.

As to the spirit which dictated these daring misrepresentations, it lies hidden. But their tendency is to darken all that relates to Cadwallader's acts and fortunes, and to the formal extinction of the British monarchy, at the first moment (since Vortigern's marriage) which promised to it a peaceful restoration. And such as is their tendency was probably their spirit.

ERGING AND EUAS. p. 158. I have to retract the erroneous expressions made use of in p. 158. For Euas, Erging, and Anerging were districts of Gwent Uch-Coed. Book of Teilaw cit. Arch. Myv. 2. p. 612. or of Gwent Is-Coed. Parthau ibid. A triad speaks of Euas, Erging, and Ystrad Yw, as the outskirts of Gwent Uch-Coed. Owen Dict. in *Llawes*. But the divisions and limits of Gwent are very variously stated. The editors of Glyn Cothi divide all Gwent into Erging, Euas, and Ystrad Yw; which is incredible, as it excludes Monmouthshire, p. 89. Mr. Edw. Williams confined Gwent to Monmouthshire, and identified Erging with Ystrad Yw in Brecon, which he called Ystrad Yer; which is equally incredible. E. W. in D. Williams Monmouth: App: p. 13. Erging and Euas seem to lie chiefly in Herefordshire. The former is Ariconium otherwise the kingdom of Erchenfield, celebrated in J. Philipps's Cider. All Monmouth with parts of Hereford, Brecon, and Gloucester, seem to have constituted ancient Gwent.

However this, which attaches blame to me, only serves to render the matter in question more strange and perplexing. It is odd that Gwrtheyrn Gwynedd of Eryri should be described as lord of Erging and Euas in Gwent. But he might be so distinguished as having only those two estates in the South, while he was master of the North. The marvel lies in the conduct of historians and translators. The Latin Chronicle of Geoffrey ap Arthur and his poem Merlinus agree in calling Vortigern consul Gewissus and Gewisseorum, i. e. ruler of Wessex; a proleptic phrase, since Wessex did not yet exist, but a true one, since the seat of his unbennaeth or insular government was in those parts where the West Saxons soon afterwards settled. But the re-translated British Tysilio of Walter the Archdeacon, and the Brut G. ap Arthur translated from G.'s Latin, agree in rendering these words tywyssawg Erging ac Euas and cyvoeth Erging ac Euas, and the Brut marked A. is to the same effect. p. 236. 240. This was not a part for a whole, since Erging and Euas were never a part of Wessex nor of any other heptarchal state. It is just as

incomprehensible and absurd, as if I were to translate "le Roi de France" by the words duke of Cleves and Juliers!

But this is a small part of the marvel. The second Cedwalla (for the first Cedwalla of the Saxons and Anglo-Normans, is Cadvan-Cadwallon son of Iago) is termed by Beda rex Gewisseorum, and is declared by Geoffrey to be Cadwallader. His mother, sister to Penda king of Mercia, is stated by the same Geoffrey to have been sprung on her mother's side ex nobili genere Gewisseorum. And here again the Walterian Tysilio, the Brut G. ap Arthur, and the Brut marked B. are agreed. They all declare that the Saxon princess, sister of the Mercian and mother of the West-Saxon king, was descended from the nobility of Erging and Euas! In Vortigern's case we may doubt, or we might otherwise have doubted, which texts we should hold by, the Latin or the Welsh, since either or both might have truth. But in this instance the correctness of the Latin texts and the absurdity of the Welsh stand out of all possibility of dispute. It appears that, whensoever a Latin writer mentioned Wessex in connexion with British affairs, the Welsh writers substituted for the name of that great country those of two little districts in South Wales, which at no period of history had any thing to do with Wessex. They did so alike, when matters purely British were in question, and when the affairs of the kingdom of Wessex were really concerned. And, moreover, the author from whose Latin this strange version is made was archdeacon of Monmouth in Gwent, a place almost contiguous to the districts of Erging and Euas, and could less than any one be ignorant of what concerned those districts; and Walter of Oxford, one of those by whom these unaccountable names are introduced, was the friend and patron of the Monmouth historian and poet.

The explanation of this affair is a tax on our ingenuity. But I lean to the idea, that it all originates in the prevalent wish to falsify Vortigern's history, to remove the scene of his death from Gwynedd to Castle Goronwy on the Wye, and so to fling a veil over the disgraceful origins of the Maelgwnian house of Gwynedd. It may be asked, how does this motive account for it in the case of Cadwallader, where its absurdity is so much grosser? Probably, it was extended to his case, in order to keep up credit by consistency, and in hopes that the Welsh of those days, little conversant with Latin names of English places, and seeing Gewissea *always* rendered Erging and Euas, might presume it was *rightly* so rendered. It would be curious if dissimulation on this topic was even then required by the Welsh princes, and to such an extent

of minute and far-fetched precaution. But the feelings which first dictated that dissimulation (see p. 152. 158) were still fresh in the minds of the ruling family at the very period in question. Cynddelw invokes the fierce and potent Owain Gwynedd thus,

Hil Maelgwn, Maelgynig ener,
Blood of Maelgwn, of Maelgwnian soul,

and so likewise the Southern prince, Rhys ap Grufudd,

Hil Maelgwn milcant addodau,
Blood of Maelgwn of the unnumber'd treasures!

It does not appear upon what grounds the editors of L. G. Cothi (p. 219) pronounce Cadwallader "faint-hearted." The Chronicles suppress all the acts and circumstances of his reign, but Geoffrey declares it was conducted *viriliter* et pacificè. Who (asks Gwendydd, in the great interpolation [a] of Cyvoesi) shall reign after Cadwallon? The answer is,

A man mighty to hold conventions
And to hold Britain under one sceptre,
Noblest of Cymmro's sons, Cadwaladyr.

The energy of his just resentments appears in the fate of Golyddan. And his ancient reputation for valour in the strong epithet of the bard Philip, colovyn elyflu. In rejecting the authority of the Brut, and the testimony of both Geoffrey its translator and Giraldus his enemy and its assailant, that Cadwallon's son was the second Cedwalla, those editors seem to me to have proceeded without sufficient reflection. The whole story of Cadwallader, or nearly so, is that of his abdication, and journey to Rome, and death there, the very same year when all those things happened to Cedwalla. Either, he was the Cedwalla with whom the facts themselves, and the express averment of some of the narrators, identify him; or, a passage of Anglo-Saxon history has been stolen to adorn a fictitious Cadwallader, who either never existed, or of whom nothing is known. But the editors adopt the story of Cadwallader as told, and yet say that he was not Cedwalla; whereas the adoption of it is that which identifies them, and the rejection of it that which would dissever them. Here we rather desiderate sound criticism. But I perceive, in the preceding

[a] The genuine Cyvoesi does not allude to that prince in the stanzas where the same appellation, Cad-waladyr, is met with.

observations, a material argument towards deciding this point. For we must embrace one of two notions. Either, that the original author inserted this narrative, in which case it must be essentially true, for Tysilio was a cotemporary of Cadwallader. Or else, it was tacked on to the Brut afterwards, in the age of its republication by Archdeacon Walter and G. ap Arthur. Now we plainly see that, so far from Archdeacon Walter being disposed to annex that passage, he found it there much to his inconvenience in the Erging-Euas affair, and was compelled to extend to it most awkwardly the same alteration of name of which Vortigern's history was more easily susceptible.

This established, we are assisted to explain another small matter, viz. why the Brut of kings had made use of the proleptic and Saxon phrase Gewissea to express a country, which had some other title in the British topography (Severia, as we are told,) by which it was known at the time when Vortigern held his central government there. The reason was that Tysilio's own sovereign Cadwallader reigned over that country eo nomine, as Wessex, and as having Gewissian blood in his own veins; so that he was familiar with the appellation not merely as a name in geography, but as a royal seat of British princes.

The antiquity of the fable of Brutus and the Trojan dynasty may be illustrated by the following circumstance. In 844 Nomenoe the Breton pillaged the Abbey of St. Florent in France. There is extant a dirge which used to be sung in that religious house, in commemoration of that misfortune and reviling its authors. It contains these words,

Florentii basilica
Sensit fera incendia
A gente crudelissimâ
Verè brutâ Britannicâ.

The allusion is evident. But the probabilities are small, that this lament was poured forth in the middle of the 12th century, three hundred years after the commission of the outrage, We should rather refer it to a time shortly subsequent and to the Carlovingian æra. Lobineau Hist. Bret. 2. p. 49.

THE WORD UCH. p. 188, 9. GODODIN. VORTIGERN. etc. In my endeavours to confirm and demonstrate that the affray of Gododin was none other than that between Hengist and the Britons at the feast of the Cyntevin, the argument upon the meaning of the words *uch* vedd venestri was not an unimportant one. That preposition is used properly for *over*, *above*, *upon*, and here means *to*, quasi *down upon*, and does not mean *from over*, or *after*.

That point might have been set at rest, had it occurred to me to quote the parallel passage in the Priv Gyvarch,

Posveirdd bronrhain a dybi	The post-bards shall become saucy
A ddeuont *uch meddlestri,*	And shall flock *to the mead-vessels,*

i. e. bards of the second class, described as historical poets by John David Rhys of Mona, and distinguished by him from the prophetic and theological bards, (Linguæ Cymraecæ Inst. p. 146.) shall intrude themselves into the festive solemnities at which only the priveirdd should sit.

The poem given in p. 201. appears to be only the latter part of one given at greater length in Arch. 1. p. 160 and composed by the bard Meigant or Meugant in the 7th century. In its more complete form it presents some further marks of Gododin: and its allusions to the gormes Calanmai in the earlier part are interesting, and recommend themselves for citation.

To crave pardon of our Loving-Prosperer,
To praise him, the lofty songs shall abound
Like those of Dunawd Deheuaint.
[a] Tho' battle be his fame, and his arms from the Francs,
Are there not plagues nearer than old age?
His host shall themselves be carried the way they prepared.
From before the Lord of Britannia's love
He seeks refuge in the violence of Kentish Loegria.
In my vein will I sing,
" There shall not be to us three summers of sadness
" Round the border of the high place of saints."
An obstruction to the profundities [b] of truth
Was the mount treacherous to the wine in my mouth.
Touching Emmrys they took up their discourse,
" It is natural the patron should protect his family:
" Trust in God, that the Druids have not prophesied
" That the horn of the privilege of Din [c] Breon shall be broken."
. . . . . .
There shall be confusion to the oaks, confusion to my one sanctuary;

---

[a] Though Hengist duke of Kent be renowned in the wars of the continent, and adorned with the rich gifts of Clodion, Alberon, or Meroveus, let him not hope for a prolonged career and a death in old age. [b] The dyvnwedydd or art bardic.

[c] The enclosure of the hill. See note to p. 201.

I know three, who, before I can be [d] Meugant,
Shall support with me in perfection
The serried spears of the men of broken [e] speech,
The strong rush of war on that situation
Where are of the Cymmry the perfect great-laws.
And after the toil of the blood-field
The host with speckled heads from the cow-pen of Cadvan
Shall be summoned on the day of ample allowance.
The privilege of bards is to imitate heroes.

"Treachery (he says) to the wine in *my* mouth." So he makes himself present upon the occasion: and pretends to write so soon after it as to prophesy the events of the ensuing three years. Those who might hesitate to believe that Aneurin had thus carried himself back to the fatal carousal, will no longer do so, when Meigant is taken in the same fact; and, if I do not misinterpret the last of the above lines, appeals to the practice of so doing. Now let me observe, that the fatal banquet of Vortigern is here said to have occurred upon the situation of the great-laws (the constitution, or fundamental laws) of the Cymmry, their cynrheith; and the Gododin poem, quoted above p. 191, states that the affray which followed the feast of Mynyddawg filled with blood "the depository of the great-laws," the "cadw cynrheith." Were there *two* such places? and both of them scenes of carousal interrupted by slaughter? This curious question may now (as I should think) be considered as determined and at rest.

The transaction at the fatal Kalends of May was celebrated by bards on the eve of their periodical recurrence, and when the Coel-certhi or omen-fires of May ceased to be lighted, it was transferred to those of the Calangauaf or All-Saints. See Y. Greal p. 123. Such poems are Gododin, Cynvelyn, Maelderw, that beginning arvanghynnull, that of Meigant, Taliesin's Ode p. 76, his Gift to Urien, Cuhelyn's poem, and perhaps others, It was not unusual for the poet to feign himself a prisoner taken on that occasion (as in Gododin, Cynvelyn, and Meigant) whence the Coel-certhi were also called the Coel-caith, omen of the captive. The Awdyl Taliesin is a Coel-certh or Cyntevin commemoration. It confirms one of my great and cardinal points,

[d] Before I can say my own name, or "say Jack Robinson."
[e] Saxons imperfectly acquainted with Latin or Celtic.

that Vortigern came quite young to the crown : and consequently that Saints Gwrthevyr and Cyndeyrn are no sons of his but creatures of the mythology. It begins with the ravages of the Picts, proceeds to Vortigern's unpopular measure for remedying that evil, and then to the fatal affray.

How sad it was to see
The tumult, a common evil,
The stabbings and slaughterings
Of the Painted Men on the tramp,
And hardships superadded,
And the government without treasure,
And God's determination
By losses to take much away
From the youth (maban) ill begotten,
Juvenile, treasureless,
Necessitous, without faith,
Who turned Lloegrian at last.
Woe ! for the disagreement.
Up to [f] my head was the seventh
Of the afflictive Kalends.
Wretched was the suppliant man,
A disgrace to the blessed mount.
Gwynedd set free again
Joins together the Cymmry,
Their hosts, and their lightnings.
The omen of their deliverance
Was the liquor, the treasure of the breast,
The pledge of liberality,
Of a portion with glory,
Glory with a portion
Which the ruler gave me.

Gwrtheyrn Gwynedd by his juvenile weakness and alleged meanness of spirit disgraced the Cymmry. Maelgwn Gwynedd by the liberation of Gwynedd (meaning the burning of his uncle and usurpation of his estates) set them up again. What follows confirms another remark, that Cam-lan, field-of-iniquity,

[f] It almost submerged me in its flood.

(the over-cad) was no battle, no place, but a descriptive phrase. It is well known that, since the cessation of Arthurism, cad Gamlan has signified any disastrous tumult. This poem proves that the phrase was applicable to any event falling within its signification, though anterior to Arthur's cam-lan. He proceeds to announce that the May Dirge for the year devolved on him, prophesies the rise of Maelgwn of Mona and the exploits of his "primi adolescentiæ anni" in language quadrating with that of Gildas and the Ymarwar Lludd, (above p. 158, 9), and the restoration of the May-Feasts at the Stan-Hengest without the recurrence of any fatal *Thursday*.

It has befallen me to be a bard reciting
The repeated tale of the cam-lan.
Renewed moaning shall be witness'd,
And dejected wailing,
And kindling into sympathy;
And the conflagration spreading:
And the growth of the youth,
A war champion in miniature.
Battles they shall see,
And fortresses arising
Guarded by many banners,
The red [g] banner to lead,
Arbiter of deaths,
The ensign of his coming
With his eagle warriors,
In the spring-time of his glory
With his sword always contending.
With me are the mysteries,
The bard's portion while he lives.
A day serving unto bloodshed
Was the day of chastising the Caers.
He shall come, like navies
When they scatter the foam.

. . . . . .

Trust in God, the world's life indeed.

---

g The red dragon of Britain, the weaving of which is celebrated by the Maelderw.

Round *the world* he will distribute graces,
Thro' the intercession of saints
And the meaning of the perfect books.
And to us [h] shall be given on a Thursday
The fine carousals of the Rampart of Light.

The Anrheg Urien was an even-song composed, like Gododin, "before the dawn of the fine day," i. e. on May Eve. That is implied by

I have greeted, I will greet (may he greet me!)
Urien of Rheged,
In the direction of pointing
Towards the West.

The drift of that poem is recommended to Aneurin's comprehension, as the Gododin is to Taliesin's. It adheres to the same figure of describing the maes mawr as the sea and the slope of Mount Caer-Caradoc as the sea-shore: according to the "gairvrith cyvrenhin Bran bore dewin." It furnishes us with fresh argument, that the Cenau ap Llywarch *of the Gododin* was not a son of Llywarch surnamed Hên: for we find that the Cenau *of the feast of Calanmai* was the brother of one Cynnin. The *Juvenility* of Vortigern is again attested. Its peculiar theme is the disunion which prevailed a mong the British nation, and to which he ascribes the calamity. Their triple division was (I suppose) into Cymmry of the bardic party, Cymmry of the royal party, and Lloegrians or Latin Provincials.

Round the place of battle
An ocean deluge
Shall come, grey foaming.
Visions present themselves,
They are kindled up,
Of that which shall be.
The rich [i] viands shall be spread,
And shall give sorrow.
Woe, because of them!

---

[i] We learn from Meigant that the feasts of the Cyntevin or kalends of Summer at the Stan-Hengest were not resumed till the third summer after this dreadful occurrence.

[h] Maeth.

Red of hue the blades,
Shining aloft
Round the fruits of their orchard.

. . . . . .

There shall come the loss
Of mutual confidence
To the gathering of people,
And hands without thumbs,
And the blades in the flesh,
Miserable warfare.
They were like children
In their falling out
On the sea-beach.
No co-operation,
No mutual confidence,
In any, concerning their sanctuary.
The Dragon of Gwynedd [k]
Is a disastrous flooding
Of the lovely habitations.
To Lloegria he will go;
And wide-spreading there
Shall be the havoc.
More shall be lost [l]
Than shall be gained
Of the Venedotians.
With the assembled council
Crowded was the interval
Twixt the sea and the mount.
As of three [m] faiths were the Britons,
Upon the short [m] pasture
For adventures convened

---

[k] Dragon of Snowdon, in Meigant.

[l] i. e. by him. Connecting himself with the Lloegrians he will gradually lose the support of his Venedotians. He "turned Lloegrian at last;" Awdyl Taliesin.

[m] Gotriffydd. Atporion, twice-depastured herbage.

They will come to *the World*,
Not then a bard-sheltering-world,
To our world of art.
The dear stewardess of the treasures
Shall be the sister of the bear
At the asylum.
There shall be immersion in slaughter
Even from Eleri
To the mount of the° beetle.

. . . . . .

Twelve women
(And no wonder)
Shall be round one man.
It was a juvenile
And a rash coming,
To come to the rich viands.

We meet with a variety of complaints, want of sobriety, want of concert, snail-pacedness or want of promptitude, their ruler's want of discretion or good faith, his want of resolution, his youth and temerity, and here it is hinted that he had better *have staid away ;* sometimes one thing and sometimes another. Taking these productions all together, they present to the ear any thing rather than the voice of the innocent blood crying to heaven.

° The scarabæus, used as a type of the Sun by the Hermetics.

THE END.

Society for the Reformation of Juvenile Offenders.

COUNTY OF SUFFOLK.

PRESIDENT.

SIR W. F. MIDDLETON, BART.

SIR,

We have the honour to request your attendance at a Meeting to be held at STOWMARKET, *on* MONDAY, *the* 19*th of November*, 1855, *at Half-past Two o'clock, to take into consideration the propriety of establishing a Reformatory School for the County of Suffolk.*

The deep interest, in the Reformation of Juvenile Offenders, now so generally felt throughout the Country, leads us to hope that we may receive an assurance of your active aid and co-operation.

We have the honour to be, Sir,

Your obedient Servants,

T. B. WESTERN
R. ALDERSON
CHARLES AUSTEN
JOHN KERRICH
EDWARD KERRISON

Schatz